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THE TEMPLE OF DARIUS AT SUSA IN ELAM, CHALDEA, & C. 1857.

G. A. Heaton, F. C. del. A. W.ken lith.

London, Longman & C. 1857.

VISIT  
TO  
THE GREAT OASIS  
OF THE  
LIBYAN DESERT;

WITH AN ACCOUNT, ANCIENT AND MODERN, OF  
THE OASIS OF AMUN, AND THE OTHER OASES NOW UNDER THE  
DOMINION OF THE PASHA OF EGYPT.

167  
BY  
G. A. HOSKINS, ESQ.  
AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN ETHIOPIA."

WITH A MAP,  
AND TWENTY PLATES ILLUSTRATING THE TEMPLES, SCENERY, ETC., FROM  
DRAWINGS FINISHED ON THE SPOT BY THE AUTHOR.

LONDON:  
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TO  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
THE EARL OF RIPON,

AS THE FRIEND OF LITERATURE AND  
THE CULTIVATOR OF SCIENCE,

THIS WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY  
HIS MOST OBEDIENT, HUMBLE SERVANT,

G. A. HOSKINS.

*Inner Temple.*



## P R E F A C E.

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THE ancient edifices, which adorn the banks of the Nile, are now engaging that share of public attention, which they undoubtedly deserve. The monumental history of mankind is, to many, the most interesting of all investigations, because it is often the most certain. The ruins of Italy and Greece convey to us as conclusive evidence of the civilisation of those countries, at different epochs, as the pages of the most graphic historians. And the stupendous antiquities of Egypt not only exhibit to us the power and wealth of the Pharaohs, but also furnish us with most interesting details of the private life of their subjects.

The existing sculptures represent the wars and conquests of the Thothmes, the Rameses, Shishak, &c., the offerings to, and the representations of the different gods they worshipped, together with their funereal ritual and other mysteries, and they also afford us an interesting and detailed representation of the pursuits, trades, arts, and amusements of this ancient people. Their palaces and temples are still the admiration of travellers ; and the paintings in their tombs exhibit to us the splendid and elegant furniture, which they used. Chairs more magnificent than any of the present day, luxurious couches, and beautiful vases, and services, convey to us a correct idea of the opulence and luxury of the great and wealthy among them.

The pictorial decorations are not merely evidence of the magnificence of the Egyptians : their private life is also so faithfully and minutely depicted on the walls of the sepulchres, that we may, as it were, follow them even to the retirement of their

country villas, situated on the borders of lakes, shaded by dates and doum trees. From the works already published, and about to be published, particularly Mr. Wilkinson's, the literary world will have an opportunity of becoming as well acquainted with the Egyptians of old as with the Greeks or Romans.

So great an enquiry has arisen within the last few years concerning Egyptian subjects, that the Author trusts an account even of the most retired provinces of that remarkable country may have some claims to public attention. The monuments of the Oasis are undoubtedly less magnificent and imposing than the temples of Thebes; but the author hopes, that the peculiar situation of them, as isolated by immense deserts from the rest of the world, their extremely picturesque appearance, the extraordinary metaphysical sculptures, and the very valuable Greek inscriptions which he has given, will justify his publishing the present volume.

The plates are selected from a large portfolio of drawings, made by the Author with the Camera Lucida, and finished on the spot. His own narrative might have been more acceptable to the scientific reader, had he not lost some observations concerning the sources, together with a small collection of minerals and insects, and a few plants collected in the Oasis and the Desert.

The temples, bearing upon their walls the names of the Persian king Darius, of Ptolemy Euergetes; the Roman emperors Claudius, Galba, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, &c., and the very remarkable remains of Christian edifices scattered over these regions will, he flatters himself, be interesting to the general reader: and he has endeavoured in the narrative to enliven the dreariness of his own journey in the Desert by a few digressions, which he hopes will not be deemed irrelevant.

In the concluding chapters “there is little of his own but the chain that binds

them.” The notices of the Oasis of Siwah, Bahnasa and Dakkel, are derived from the latest and best authorities. The quotations from the ancient historians are generally given in full, in order that the reader, prepared by the perusal of the several narratives, may draw his own conclusions. It may perhaps be said, that the Author, in this portion of his work, has stepped beyond the bounds of a mere traveller: the attention, however, which he has for some years given to these particular subjects, and his desire of presenting to the reader a full account, ancient and modern, of the “tufted isles that verdant rise amid the Libyan waste,” urge him, under the hope of a favourable acceptance, to present the volume as it is, to his friends and the public.

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VISIT  
TO  
THE GREAT OASIS.

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CHAPTER I.

RESIDENCE AT THEBES.—EGYPTIAN SERPENT CHARMERS.—THEIR TRICKS UPON TRAVELLERS.—VIEW OF THE PLAIN OF THEBES.—TEMPLES.—INUNDATION.—THE WESTERN MOUNTAIN.—TOMBS AT GOURNAH KARNAK.—MOSQUITOES.—ROBBERS.—DEXTERITY, OF THE ARABS.—ANTIQUITIES.—SCENERY.—TOMBS OF THE KING'S.—ORIENTAL LIFE.—RULES FOR DIET.—SIESTA.—MR. HAY'S SEPULCHRAL RESIDENCE.

BEFORE commencing the description of my journey to the Oasis Magna, I trust it will not be deemed irrelevant to give the reader a short account of my habitations and manner of living among the antiquities and tombs of Thebes, which for five months previously I had been studying and delineating. I will introduce a few observations, which may not be unprofitable to other travellers; and a few anecdotes, which may perhaps not be uninteresting to the general reader.

A stranger in the valley of the Nile must needs submit to many hardships and deprivations ; but he soon becomes reconciled to the sacrifice of the elegances of life, and thinks himself fortunate if he can enjoy the advantage of visiting those barbarous but interesting regions, and at the same time retain any European comforts.

A house built by Signor D'Athanasi, a Greek gentleman formerly in the employ of Mr. Salt, was my head quarters. It was situated in the western suburb of the city among the ancient tombs, which are now converted into habitations by the peasants of Gournah. A Greek named Triantafelas, a worthy honest merchant, occupied part of the house. Besides accommodation for cooking and for my servants, I had two good rooms. One of them served as a sleeping and at the same time store-room ; but this combination had its inconveniences, as it attracted around my bed swarms of rats, with which almost every house in Egypt is infested : and often when they seemed to fancy that I was asleep, I have been amused with watching their squabbles for my cheese and maccaroni.

A few rude chairs, a roughly manufactured,

table, some shelves for my books and antiquities, and a couple of commodious Turkish divans of cotton wool covered with a smart English chintz, gave a more comfortable appearance to my sitting-room. The earthen floors of both chambers were covered with clean mats, which are more convenient than carpets; as during the excessively hot weather, I was enabled to create a freshness by having them daily saturated with water.

Compared to the other habitations in the village, my house was a little palace; and indeed it was very habitable, though destitute of many comforts which in England we should consider indispensable requisites.

Describing my house, I ought also to mention that it contained other tenants, which, although unpleasant to look at, and disagreeable to live with under the same roof, are in reality less mischievous than rats. Lizards often of an extraordinary size were lodged in various corners and crevices of the walls. Their natural timidity kept them generally out of my sight, and made them satisfied with leaving their lurking-places only when I was absent from my room; but there was one description more bold than the

others, called boursa, the bite of which is not injurious, although its breath is said to be fatal ; for, according to the vulgar accounts of the Arabs, if it breathes upon food it converts it into poison.

Serpents and scorpions, they say, are hid in the innermost recesses of the walls. The Psylli, or Egyptian serpent charmers, came to my house one day when I was absent, and apparently succeeded in attracting a serpent and two scorpions from their hiding-places. They afterwards went to a tomb where Mr. Bonomi resided, and seemed to charm from their holes another serpent and some scorpions ; but failed in enticing a fine serpent which Mr. B. kept in a tin case. The lid of the case was on this occasion purposely left open ; therefore, had their incantations really possessed any influence except over the reptiles which had been trained to obey their call, this horned snake would most assuredly have made its appearance.

Many travellers have believed in the power of these jugglers, because they have not succeeded in detecting their artifices. I do not pretend to understand their tricks ; but it seems to me highly probable that the serpents and scorpions

which they profess to find are only those that they have themselves let loose, and which have been previously accustomed to be summoned in some peculiar manner to receive their food. The Psylli engage for a certain sum of money to initiate others into their secrets; that is, so far as to render them insensible to poison. They mutter over them in Arabic several invocations to prophets and saints no one ever heard of before, and various prayers in a language which has certainly no affinity to any other, and which in plain terms would be called gibberish. They administer a draught of water, in which they mix a powder, and render it more efficacious by spitting into it; and a serpent which they apply to the stranger's ear having bit it until the blood flows, he is then declared to be initiated into the mysteries of their craft, and ever after safe from the venom of serpents, scorpions, or any other hurtful reptiles.

Whether serpents and scorpions do exist in such abundance at Thebes as it is pretended, I cannot decide; but I had the comfortable satisfaction of knowing that there was one of the largest horned snakes I ever saw in Egypt secreted probably in the very walls of my bed-

room. I had purchased it as a curiosity, and kept it securely, as I imagined, in a basket under my bed. I intended to preserve it, and was only waiting for some spirits of wine which I had ordered from Cairo for that purpose ; when I found one day, to my great annoyance and disappointment, that it had disappeared.

I enjoyed from the windows of my rooms a most magnificent view of the plain of Thebes. I could see the pylons forming the entrance of the splendid temple of Karnak, villages and groves of date trees, the low eastern range of mountains, and the towering propylon, lofty obelisks, and columns of the temple of Luxor ; and, winding around the latter, the broad and glorious Nile, animated occasionally by the appearance of the diabeas, or more light and elegant cangias, with their full-set sails mastering its current.

The great plain of the western bank was spread out like an immense lawn before me. The brilliancy of the verdure, the golden tints of the mellow corn, the freshness and richness of the various hues, surpassed in brilliancy even the green luxuriance of our northern climes. The parching effect of the heated atmosphere,

and often withering winds, were subdued by the regular irrigation of the land; art creating there what nature cannot — an almost perpetual spring.

The southern portion of the western plain of Thebes is nearly denuded of trees, as if nature was unwilling to screen from our view the magnificent remains of the wondrous city. The splendid temple of Rameses II., called the Memnonium, and the vast extent of ruins at Medenet Abou, were visible from my window; and also the two celebrated colossal statues, fifty-three feet high, proudly situated in the centre of the plain, without a single bush, or any inhabited building, or even the slightest inequality of ground immediately around them, to detract in the smallest degree from their imposing appearance.

It was a still more striking sight to see that vast portion of the plain of Thebes covered with the periodical inundation, and the waters of the Nile insulating these noble monuments of art. The northern part of the western plain of Thebes is even more luxuriant. The cultivation there is richer, and the abundance of acacia trees produces a pleasingly rural effect.

The foreground to the splendid view which I have attempted inadequately to describe was curious, but undoubtedly less pleasing ; for although it was a portion of that magnificent western mountain which is ever the admiration of Egyptian travellers, and striking as is the contrast of the white calcareous rock above and the green verdure beneath, still the objects immediately around my house were what an antiquarian might easily become reconciled to, but which a lover of the picturesque would not desire. There was nothing here to be seen but the gorgeous tombs of the great of a former age, converted into the wretched abodes of squalid poverty ; mummy pits and violated sepulchres, not unlike to though far more numerous than burrows in a rabbit warren ; together with so many mounds of rubbish, tumuli of excavators, strewed with the rags and bones of the embalmed, that the ancient sepulchres of the Egyptians may almost be said to have been turned inside out.

Nevertheless, it was a magnificent landscape ; and many a delightful hour have I passed, after the engrossing labours of the day, smoking the refreshing pipe, and gazing upon the unpa-

ralleled scene before me, so rich in associations of the past ; musing upon its still splendid localities illumined with the gorgeous effulgence of an oriental sunset, — the distant hills, pylons, columns, and statues lighted up with its rays ; and noticing the effects of their shadows on the plain.

While engaged in drawing and studying the antiquities on the eastern bank of the Nile, I took up my abode in one of the small chambers in the great propylon of Karnak. Herodotus says the Egyptians slept on high towers to escape the mosquitoes. The height of the great pylon of Karnak did not, however, protect me from the largest and most venomous of that tormenting race which I ever had the misfortune to encounter. A net not being sufficient protection, I was obliged every night to make explosions of gunpowder in my room, as the only successful method of obtaining the necessary sleep after the fatigues of the day.

Besides this war with the mosquitoes, I had also cause to fear during my long sojourn at Karnak the approaches of more formidable enemies. I had taken the precaution to establish a guard of two men, being told that thieves abounded in the neighbourhood. My

sentries, by firing their guns, at all events plundered me of my rest two nights successively. They said that they had seen robbers ; but I suspected that the alarm was merely a trick on their part, to prove to me their vigilance, to gain additional backsheesh, to convince me that they were not always asleep, and to impress upon my mind the necessity of maintaining a standing army.

The third and last time, however, that I was roused in this manner, I saw a man running over the plain, and they told me that several others had vanished amongst the ruins ; but I was astonished at observing that the thief, who was still visible in his flight, was totally unarmed, being without a spear, sword, or gun. I was thus convinced that what the Arabs said concerning them was true ; that the only evil there was any reason to apprehend from such marauders was their availing themselves of the opportunity when my guards and servants might be asleep to steal into my room, and carry off any article that was portable.

They tell extraordinary tales of these men carrying away by stealth even large boxes and packages. We read in the Arabian Nights of

Orientals creeping into tents and rooms, and of their ingenuity in escaping detection. The children of Ishmael are still famous for similar dexterity; and when from extreme poverty, or to escape being made soldiers, they fly to the desert and are forced to seek a subsistence by becoming thieves, they undoubtedly display great aptitude for the craft.

Notwithstanding these little inconveniences, I prefer Karnak as a residence. It is much more agreeable to live among the ruins, than in the midst of a dirty Arab village such as Gournah.

The view from the propylon was, in truth, magnificent. Numerous pylons towering even above the lofty palm trees, forests of columns of prodigious size, spiring obelisks, colossal statues, sphinxes, granite sanctuaries, and endless piles of wonderful and curious ruins covered with sculptures of battles and mythological subjects, were immediately before me. But I must refrain from descanting on this extraordinary scene, though it is impossible for me even to allude to my residence at Thebes, without expressing how glorious a sight it is for an antiquarian to have ever before his eyes such wonderful

remains of ancient art, to enjoy them in solitude, to ramble for hours among their mazes, and not to meet a living thing except occasionally a solitary fox or jackall.

In addition to the antiquities, the country itself at Karnak is beautiful. The palm tree grows more luxuriantly there than on the western side. The picturesque groups of this graceful tree, the bright and rich verdure in the plain, and in the distance the river and the great western mountain of Thebes, with its bright-yellow, red, and white tints, added greatly to the pictorial effect of the dilapidated temples.

When engaged among the tombs of the kings, I resided in the sepulchre of Rameses V. which is very comfortable, particularly during the summer months, as there is then invariably in such a place a refreshing coolness.

Having described the accommodations which Thebes affords to travellers, I will briefly mention the manner of living there. Generally before sunrise, my Arab boy used to come into my bed-room. “ e’Shams, Effende ; e’Shams, Effende ”— The sun, sir, the sun ; as he was always reproved if he called me long after sunrise. Others soon followed with a cup of

hot strong coffee and a pipe. To use the expression in the East, "having drunk" both, and also taken a more substantial English breakfast, I mounted my ass, and rode to a tomb or temple. Having allowed my beard to grow, I had not the pain and labour of shaving ; and as the donkeys in these regions are infinitely more sprightly than in Europe, and mine as active though not so well taken care of as Scheherezade's Sprightly, an hour after sunrise I was enabled to commence my labours, sometimes standing over the camera lucida table, otherwise squatted on a carpet, and finishing the outlines made with the instrument. The latter position was of course more agreeable, as standing is rather painful in a hot climate : besides the pencil in my hand was no obstacle to having between my lips the amber mouthpiece of the shibouk ; and really a pipe of high-flavoured mild Gible tobacco (disgusting as the habit of smoking may be in Europe), is in these regions an inexpressible comfort. As the Arabs say, it reconciles you to fate, sooths down the little asperities of life, and endows you with powers to build more castles and light airy structures, than even all the talent of our British architects.

At twelve I dined. For the information of those of my readers who may visit the burning shores of Africa, I will mention the rules for diet, which I have experienced it to be prudent to attend to. The traveller should pay great attention to the state of his pulse. If languid, he may indulge in a more generous diet; but generally great abstemiousness is necessary, if he wishes to preserve himself from the injurious effects of constant exposure to the excessive heat. I found it advisable to live almost entirely on fowls; and except a glass of light French wine, I drank no other beverage than water. Milk and eggs should be used with caution. Rice and Italian maccaroni are well adapted to the climate; and if a traveller is fortunate in the choice of his cook, he will not say, that an Arab pillof is a bad dish.

The water of the Nile agrees with every person; and however hot the day may be, it is better to drink it cold and pure than to mix it with brandy. When cooled in the porous goolahs, no draught can be more wholesome or more delicious; nor have I ever heard of a single instance of the use of it producing any injurious effects. It is imprudent to make any

excursion, or even take a short walk, without being accompanied by a boy carrying two goollahs of water, one for his master and another for himself. The desire to drink is always produced by the slightest exertion ; and there is perhaps no region where thirst is more insupportable, or so rapidly fatal to the sufferer.

It is the custom of the East to sleep at the least half an hour after dinner. I think this is a beneficial practice ; but at all events it produces great discontent in the establishment if you deviate from this oriental observance, as your servants will be loth to relinquish the enjoyment of their usual siesta. After this repose of half an hour on the luxurious divan in my house or tent, or when I dined amongst the ruins on a Turkish carpet under the shade of a temple or grove of palm trees, I clapped my hands\*, and at the well-known call my servants again brought me a cup of coffee and a pipe. Thus refreshed, I resumed my labours with the pencil.

After drawing almost from sunrise to sunset, I spent the evenings in reading and writing.

\* This manner of calling the servants is often mentioned in the Arabian Nights, and is still general among the Turks.

Sometimes Mr. Hay, who was at Thebes during the whole time of my residence there, smoked his pipe with me; and on Sunday, which, though we had no church to go to, we invariably made a day of rest, I dined with him. On Thursday evenings also the artists and travellers at Thebes used to assemble in his house, or rather tomb I should call it; but never was the habitation of death witness to gayer scenes. Though we wore the costume, we did not always preserve the gravity of Turks; and the saloon, although formerly a sepulchre, threw no gloom over our mirth. The still remaining beautiful fragments of the painted roof were illuminated by the blaze of wax-lights; and the odour of the mummies had long before been dispelled by the more congenial perfume of savoury viands.

Notwithstanding the great civilisation of the ancient Egyptians, I question whether their divans were more comfortable, their tobacco (or their substitute for it, for of tobacco they could have had none) better, or their fare more relished, than that of my friend Mr. Hay. We were all fond of the arts, and had proved our devotion to antiquarian pursuits by sacrificing for a time Europe and its enjoyments, to prosecute our

researches in this distant land. Our conversation therefore never flagged ; and assuredly I reckon, not among the least happy hours of my life, the evenings I spent in the tomb at Thebes.

As my journey to the Oasis commenced from Thebes, I have been tempted to notice a few incidents of my sojourn there, and to pay this slight homage to its magnificence. I have avoided however giving a description of the antiquities, as such a subject would require a volume : but since the public may perhaps be more curious to know how I lived than what I saw there, I conceive this slight sketch will not be uninteresting, and may perhaps stimulate others to follow our example, and bring to England additional portfolios of drawings ; for I may truly say, that, were a man to serve at Thebes an apprenticeship of seven years to the study of archæology, he would never want employment.

## CHAP. II.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE JOURNEY.—ADVANTAGE OF A KNOWLEDGE OF MEDICINE.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CARAVAN.—EXCITEMENT OF TRAVELLING.—DESIRE TO SEE AN OASIS.—ROBBERS.—GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT.—ADVENTURES WITH ROBBERS.—AMUSING PROCESSION.—TRAVELLING ON DROMEDARIES.—DESCRIPTION OF AN ARAB VILLAGE.—HABITS OF THE PEASANTS.—ARAB SALUTATIONS.—HAREMS.—COSTUMES.—WANT OF CLEANLINESS.—BEAUTY OF EGYPTIAN VILLAGES.

HAVING agreed with Mr. Hay and Mr. Catherwood to penetrate in company to the Oasis magna, we made all necessary preparations for our departure. Not knowing whether the bread in the Oasis was of wheat or dourah, whether the inhabitants of such a sequestered place even knew how to make bread, or at all events such as would be palatable to our European taste, we took the precaution to furnish ourselves with a large supply. A Greek woman in the village of Gournah makes the best bread at Thebes, and, indeed, such as is not surpassed in any country; and we converted the excellent muffins of this

worthy woman into biscuit, by simply ordering them to be baked a second time.

A supply of water for the desert is generally carried in geerbahs, which often discolour it, and sometimes give it a disagreeable taste. To save ourselves from being obliged to drink this unpleasant beverage, we adopted a plan, which I strongly recommend to those who purpose journeying in the deserts. We filled several dozens of bottles with water of the Nile, which had been carefully filtered ; and having sealed, we packed them in wicker baskets, with a division between each, to prevent the motion of the camels from breaking them. We thus secured for ourselves excellent water. It was, indeed, daily half boiled by the sun ; but, when exposed to the air in the porous goollah, it soon became as cool, as if it had been iced.

During a day's journey on camels exposed to the tropical sun, the traveller constantly requires water to moisten his lips, if not to satisfy his thirst. The Arabs make use of leather bottles, called zimzimeahs, which have this disadvantage, that the water is never cool. We used, on the contrary, goollahs, covering them with bags, to prevent their being broken.

Besides this supply of bread and water, the two great requisites for the desert life, we had a good provision of tea, coffee, sugar, candles, tobacco, wine, maccaroni, rice, mishmish (preserved apricots); not forgetting a small box of medicines, as the district we were going to is considered to be very unhealthy.

It is not advisable for any one to travel in the East without a medicine chest, and sufficient confidence in his knowledge of its contents, to attempt the cure of himself and servants in ordinary cases. Indeed, I should advise any one going into those regions, to study medicine before he left Europe; as he would certainly derive great advantage from even a slight acquaintance with it. The superiority of his judgment over that of uncultivated peasants alone gives him the power to do much good; and as the most implicit faith is reposed in his skill and prescriptions, if he be but acquainted with the chief medicines, and is aware when and how they are to be administered, he has the means, at least, of saving the lives of others, and consequently preserving their families from distress.

He will not, perhaps, receive many thanks for his trouble; since the Arabs conceive, that, as a

matter of course, Europeans should endeavour to relieve them when suffering from sickness ; and, as this does not cause their physicians any bodily labour, they see no reason why they themselves should be so profuse in their expressions of gratitude. I once heard a peasant, to whom I had given some medicine, say to his friend, “ Fate has thrown this Frank in my way, Allah uckbar (God is great). Inshallah buckarah taip (God willing, to-morrow I shall be well).”

We experienced some little difficulty in procuring the necessary number of camels, and a guide. After a delay of a few days, the arrangements were completed ; and on the afternoon of the 13th, all was ready for our departure. We mounted at my house, each person selecting his dromedary. I had never rode one before ; and if I could then have had the option, I should have infinitely preferred a horse. My friends understanding the points of a dromedary better than myself, selected one for me ; which, although rather rough in his paces, I had no occasion afterwards to be dissatisfied with. The animals were not furnished with regular dromedary saddles ; and as none could be procured nearer

than Cairo, we were obliged to be content with pack-saddles, which are oftener used for dead than living weights, for merchandise rather than travellers. The Turks, however, sometimes ride on them ; and, covered with our cushions and carpets, they were more comfortable, perhaps, than the others. My arms, gun, sabre, and pistols, were attached to this vast apparatus of a saddle ; and two baskets, containing my clothes and drawing materials, balanced each other at the sides. From the saddle-bow hung a bag containing a goollah of water, some biscuits, a pipe, and a pouch of tobacco.

A good rider of the dromedary maintains his seat entirely by the art of preserving his balance, crossing his legs in front, his right foot hanging over the animal's left shoulder, and vice versa ; no stirrups are used.

Our caravan was rather formidable. Mr. H. had a Maltese dragoman and two Arab servants. Mr. C. had one, and I had two Arabs. Our party, therefore, consisted of nine persons well armed, independent of the Habeer (guide), and eight Arabs, which we had hired. Some of the camel men were peasants of the Nile ; others were of the Ababde tribe.

We drank success to our journey before starting, and were all in excellent spirits ; for, notwithstanding our attachment to the ruins of Thebes, that love of change, which is deeply implanted in the breast of man, delighted us with the reflection, that we were going to see other regions and other antiquities, and that our journey would probably be useful to the cause of science : for, although the Oasis had been visited by several Europeans, correct and full delineations had never yet been taken of the interesting remains which it contains.

I must confess I felt also a strong curiosity to see what an Oasis really is. I had seen numerous islands in seas and lakes ; and I fully believed the possibility of similar islands existing in the vast ocean of sand, on whose margin I had been so long residing : but I longed to witness the state and appearance of such islands, surrounded by an interminable waste, and cut off from the rest of the world by the most destructive of seas. I wished to behold the inhabitants of such remote districts ; and I was still more anxious to know what traces of former civilisation could exist in such fearful wilds.

Mrs. Hay and Mr. Bonomi accompanied us to

the Birket Habou ; and then, with a thousand wishes for our safe return, took leave of us. As the inundation had not yet abated, the cultivated land between Thebes and Erment was covered with water, which gave to that always uninteresting road a still more desolate appearance.

After passing a small temple built by Adrian, we observed on the skirt of the desert a band of eighteen men, whom the Arabs stated to be robbers ; but they gave us no uneasiness, as our caravan was quite as numerous and better armed than they were. These men are driven to this desperate course of living, in order to escape from the soldiers of the Pasha, who hunt, as if they were pursuing wild beasts, the young and able-bodied peasants to recruit the army, and the old men to force them to return to their villages, from which they have fled to avoid extortions.

Those who, from their age, are considered unable to endure the fatigues of a campaign, but who are not too old to work, are compelled to submit to a rate of taxes, which absorbs every para that their land produces. Some who have personal property, the representatives of families once rich, are able to exist by annually sacri-

ficing a portion of it ; but when this, generally a scanty stock, fails them, they have no other resource except to flee into the mountains, or to obtain by treachery and deceit those necessaries which their mere industry does not enable them to procure. Several of these bands are assembled in the deserts, near different villages on the banks of the Nile, not always with the intent to plunder, but sometimes rather for the sake of protecting themselves against the attacks of the soldiery, while their kinsmen or families in the villages furnish them at night-time with provisions. Many of the Gournah peasants when pursued, plunge into the tombs. It is very rarely that the Turks have the courage to follow them into those dark recesses. Some of them had taken refuge during the time of my residence, amongst the brick ruins and ancient temples at Medenet Abou. One day, when I was drawing the antiquities there, a party of them joined me. A servant that I had in attendance, told me their characters as they approached. They gave the usual salutation of " Saba el keer," (good morning,) and sat down before me on the ground.

After some time one of them went away, and

shortly afterwards, I heard the report of a gun. He returned with a hare which he had killed, and offered to sell it to me. I agreed to give him a piaster for it; but as it occurred to me that the sight of my purse, although not a heavy one, might tempt them, and conceiving it not impossible, that they might wish to know whether I had any thing about me worth taking by force, I professed that I had no money, and asked my servant to pay them the piaster. "What," said they in a whisper to my servant, "has the Effende no floos in his pocket?" "Mafeesh, (none)," said my man; "he always leaves his at home." I was however in the custom of carrying a little money about me, to purchase any antiquities offered me for sale.

They asked my servant whether some Turkish soldiery who had been in the village, were still there; and after waiting about an hour (during which time I quietly introduced them with the camera lucida into the foreground of my drawing), they without saying one word to me or I to them, took their departure, remarking only to my servant, that they wondered I was not tired with standing and drawing so long. I had my sabre and gun close by me; arms

which they must have been glad to have possessed, but which they showed no sort of intention or desire to take to themselves.

The visit of some of these men to Mr. Hay, one day while he was drawing, was a little more alarming. As it was not known at the time, that the robbers had chosen these ruins for their hiding-place, he was, as usual, unarmed. They expressed their surprise to Mr. Hay's servant, that his master should have no arms. "Oh!" said the man, very cunningly, "my master has a terrible weapon in his pocket, a small pistol, capable of killing a dozen men without being reloaded." A pistol with seven barrels, belonging to Mr. C., was considered by the Arabs who saw it, as a most formidable weapon; and the fame of it was widely spread in the valley of the Nile.

The robbers talked to Mr. Hay's servant on indifferent subjects; at last one of them coolly remarked, that they were about to murder in the evening the Sheakh of Beirat, who had attempted to take them for soldiers. Mr. H. then thought it high time, if not for his own security, at all events for the preservation of this man's life, to give the alarm. He therefore

sent his servant to Gournah, and immediately the whole village was in arms.

I was engaged at the time drawing in a tomb, and was not aware of the circumstance until one of my servants informed me, that Mr. H. was fighting with robbers. I hastened to join him; but before I reached Medenet Abou, I met Mr. H. attended by a crowd of peasants returning home in triumph. Several Sheakhs, on their horses, led the procession: having met no enemy to fight with, they were now going through the evolutions of a mock battle, throwing the jereed, and exhibiting their skill in horsemanship. Mr. Hay and his artists, surrounded by some scores of peasants, followed; and that nothing might be wanting to complete the scene, the tambours of the village were put in requisition; and so great was the din of tongues and music, that I could scarcely hear Mr. H., as he informed me of the cause of this commotion in the peaceful village. The highest mounds of rubbish in the plain were covered with women and children, enjoying the sight; and I must not forget to mention my fellow lodger, Triantafelas, the Greek, whom I have already introduced to the reader. He is an im-

mensely stout man, and was mounted, as usual, on his light but spirited donkey. The noise of the music and the clamour of the multitude had such an effect on his fiery steed, that its master was unable to restrain its ardour. It was an absurdly ridiculous scene to see this light little animal running away with the huge collossal Greek ; his natural great bulk being in appearance increased by his long flowing garments inflated by the wind.

We halted at ten o'clock under a large acacia about an hour's ride from Risigat, the village where we purposed passing the night. I was delighted to descend from my dromedary. Unaccustomed as I was to its pace, and partly from the little exercise I had taken the previous five months, the jogging seesaw crawl of this unwieldy animal seemed to have disturbed every bone in my body. I comforted myself, however, with the hope, that I should soon become reconciled to the motion ; or that, at all events, I had the alternative of walking. The latter, indeed, was not a very comfortable reflection, as our path lay over burning sands and under a scorching sun, the thermometer the greatest part of the day averaging nearer to a hundred

than ninety degrees. When my servant had spread a carpet and cushions under the tree, I wrapped my cloak around me; and my fatigue being greater than even my aches and pains, I was soon fast asleep. Mr. H. and Mr. C. seemed to feel this novel effect of the dromedary as sensibly as myself, particularly Mr. C. who had been previously indisposed; but, as is usual on such occasions, none of us uttered any complaints. Refreshed with tea and a sound nap, we proceeded to Risigat, and there pitched our tents.

*14th Oct. 1832, Risigat.* — In describing Risigat, I will avail myself of the opportunity of giving the reader a general idea of the villages on the banks of the Nile. An Arab village, if rarely picturesque, presents often a rural and a pleasing scene. The habitations are small hovels, built of unbaked bricks, partly covered with a plaster of black alluvial soil of the Nile, manure, and straw; and are generally without a first floor. They have often no other aperture for admitting the light, than the door; and are, therefore, not unfrequently dark, as well as filthy. The roofs are flat, and formed of beams of wood, generally, the palm tree, covered over with dourah stalks,

and sometimes earth. There is often a line of palm branches or dourah stalks around the margin of the roof, which gives it a terrace-like appearance.

During the summer months the peasants sleep on these roofs ; their bed is generally a simple mat, with the occasional luxury of a sheep-skin. They have no pillows, nor do they ever undress, but merely wrap themselves in their shawls. Their feet and legs are often exposed, but they never omit covering their faces entirely with the melayah. This custom prevents their suffering so much from ophthalmia, as by habitual exposure to the night-air they otherwise would, and particularly during the season of the inundation.

The Sheakhs and villagers sometimes receive visitors on the roofs of the houses, an Oriental custom mentioned in Scripture. I have occasionally witnessed these visits ; and, as their salutations are curious, and will give the reader a good idea of Arab courtesy, it may not be uninteresting to mention some of their salaams. The Arabs have an infinity of compliments, but there are some which are rarely, if ever, omitted. On entering the house of his friend, the visiter

says, “ Salaam Aleycam,” (Peace with you, brother,) at the same time raising his right hand to his left breast; or if his host be of higher rank than himself, placing his second finger upon his lips, and then upon his forehead. The host replies, “ Aleycam e’Salaam rachmad Allah wah barrakato,” (Brother, peace be to you, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you.) A short pause then ensues, during which the host examines the appearance and dress of his visiter, who is at the same time engaged in observing the different persons in the room, strangers, and servants; and, if he has a favour to ask, in finding out from the physiognomy of his host, whether the moment is propitious, or as they say, whether the day is black or white; as “ Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not towards him as before.”

This pause is sometimes broken by expressions such as, “ Kaif kaifak?” (How are you?) “ El ham doo lillah,” (Praise be to God,) says the host. “ Taip een?” (Is it well with you?) is brought in repeatedly, whenever there is too long a pause; and when the visiter is at a loss what else to say, to ingratiate himself with

the host, “Allah yesellimak” (May God preserve you) is the answer.

The pipe, with solemn interposing puff,  
Makes half a sentence at a time enough;  
The dozing sages drop the drowsy strain,  
Then pause, and puff—and speak, and pause again.

COWPER.

If the visit is to a sheakh, his servants bring in coffee; one bears a tray, on which are small fingans, of the shape of egg cups, and the smoking hot beverage in the vase, in which it has been boiled. A pipe is also presented to the visitor, the sheakh saying, “Tofuddal” (partake). The peasant, before taking the pipe, touches his lips and forehead with his finger. After a few whiffs, the host says, “Wahashtineh” (You have deserted us). “Allah la wahashminak” (May God never desert you), says the insinuating guest.\*

The women are sometimes present at these visits to their husbands, and occasionally con-

\* Mr. Lane, in his valuable and most correct work on the modern Egyptians, has described these salutations and several of the customs mentioned in this chapter. The few observations which I have made on this subject were written long before the publication of that interesting work.

verse with the visitors, when they are intimate friends ; but they generally keep their faces covered, *or nearly so*, with their melayahs. The women pay visits to each other, but never receive any male visitors during their husband's absence ; if such attempt to enter the house, when the master is not at home, his wives close the doors, and shout " Harem, harem," most vociferously.

The dress of the poorest peasants consists of a pair of drawers, which reaches below the knee ; over which they wear a long gown (in Arabic, soof or zaboot) of coarse woollen brown stuff, like a carter's frock, but open from the neck to the waist, with very wide long sleeves, which they used always to manufacture themselves ; but the Pasha, to promote his mad scheme of making Egypt a manufacturing country, has endeavoured by his prohibition to deprive them of this resource. They have, moreover, a pair of common red slippers and a white scull-cap, which is the only protection of their shaved heads. Those who are in more easy circumstances, wear coarse linen shirts and linen frocks of the same form, died blue ; and over their cotton scull-caps, a tarboush or cap of red cloth.

The more affluent have a white and often fine muslin turban, twisted in horizontal folds around their caps, and when young, have their ere, or gown, tightened at the waist with a woollen shawl. A spear as long as himself, a dagger fastened above his elbow, and a charm attached to a twisted leather thong or blue silk cord, which, drawn up his sleeves and crossing between the shoulders, hangs under his left arm, complete the costume of a village beau.

The women, when very poor, wear a long blanket, which they twist round their persons very picturesquely. Others have long gowns shaped like the men's, and of the same materials ; but those who can afford it, have linen gowns, dyed blue, and a melayah, which, when they go out, they put on very gracefully, and in such a manner as to screen their faces from the gaze of strangers. Their carriage is engaging, and they are generally faithful and affectionate wives ; but their housekeeping is by no means of a cleanly or provident description — to take no thought for the morrow is practically their system. They grind between a couple of stones, plundered perhaps from some neigh-

bouring ruin, merely as much grain as will suffice for their mid-day and evening meals. They possess neither broom nor brush, nor any substitute for them; nor do they make any attempt to clean their hovels, and render them comfortable. Custom, and their religion, enforce the observance of certain personal ablutions; but as no law obliges them to wash their garments, they seldom endeavour to give them a more cleanly appearance.

Some of the houses have a first floor, which is made use of either as a divan or sleeping-room, approachable only by a rude, steep, and straight flight of mud steps. The hovels are generally crowded together; but in the small villages, such as Risigat, they are more detached, and sometimes even picturesquely grouped. The beauty, however, of an Arab village depends almost entirely on the luxuriant groves of graceful palm trees which surround it. The variety of the tints, the symmetry of the branches, hanging gracefully like the feathers of the ostrich, and the constant freshness of the foliage, give a peculiar charm to these trees; and when they are agitated by the breeze, their

rustling noise is as the gentle murmuring of a stream : well may the Arabs delight in reposing under their shade.

The banks of the Nile consist of a succession of rich plains of unequal width, dotted with little groves of palm trees, and every grove hides a village. The fig sycamore tree is occasionally met with ; and in some places, particularly near Dendera, the fan-leaved palm, the beautiful doum tree, is also seen ; and the Mimosa nilotica, the sweet-smelling acacia, every where abounds. The groves, animated with innumerable flocks of turtle-doves, pigeons, and often more rare birds, are surrounded with cultivated land, sometimes covered by the inundation insulating the village and its woods ; and on the retiring of the waters, or at other seasons by the labour of irrigation, clothed with the richest verdure and most luxuriant crops.

## CHAP. III.

VISIT FROM THE KATSHEF OF RISIGAT.— HIS ASTONISHMENT AT AN ENGLISH BREAKFAST.— TURKISH WASHING APPARATUS.— THE KATSHEF'S DINNER.— ORIENTAL CUSTOMS.— TURKISH FONDNESS FOR WINE.— THE KATSHEF'S INTERESTED CONDUCT.— PASSAGE OF THE DESERT.— ARAB GUIDE STONES.— DEAD CAMELS.— LOSS OF WATER.— KNAVERY OF MY ARAB SERVANT.— FAWN-COLOURED APPEARANCE OF ANIMALS IN THE DESERT.— AN ARAB CROSSING THE DESERT ALONE.

WE found this morning, that we should be obliged to remain here until to-morrow, Mr. H. having sent a courier to Gournah for some things which he had left behind, at our setting out on the expedition.

The Katschef of Risigat paid us a visit before we had breakfasted. Our tents not being in order, we had our carpets arranged under the shade of some palm trees. The Katschef was rather a common-looking person; but as he seemed civil and anxious to oblige, we invited him to breakfast with us. He accepted our

invitation, but it was exceedingly amusing to see his dismay at our fare.

Before we commenced, he eyed with anxious curiosity the paraphernalia of our breakfast-table. The cups, saucers, plates, knives and forks, white cloth, &c., evidently puzzled him exceedingly; but like a true Turk, to preserve his dignity, and for fear of giving offence, he made no remarks. His astonishment at the black and green stuff we put into the teapot, and the quantity of water we poured upon it, was very conspicuous; but when we offered him a cup of the dark-coloured liquor, he seemed quite astounded. The politeness of the Turk prevented his declining it, but I noticed that he had not the courage to taste the beverage. We then gave him some cold fowl, which also he took, but did not touch, conceiving, I presume, that it was necessary to follow our example, and eat it with a knife and fork; instruments which he might have seen, but had doubtless never used. He sat watching us taking our breakfast, but could not be induced to taste any thing, except a little bread. He made not a single remark; but I observed, that he was evidently confounded at the sight of the

cup after cup we drank of the black water. He remained with us several hours ; examined our guns, sabres, and marvelled greatly at Mr. C.'s pistol with seven barrels.

Before taking leave, he pressed us so much to dine with him that we consented, having no excuse to make, as we were obliged to remain in the place the whole day. He sent us horses to convey us to his house, which was, of course, the largest in the village. The room he received us in was on the first floor : the only furniture it contained, consisted of a few old carpets, spread over a low brick divan, which extended the full length of the chamber. After pipes and coffee had been presented to us, the Katshef said that dinner would not be ready for some time, and that he should leave us to take a nap on the divans. This was really an act of kindness, as conversation had begun to flag most dreadfully.

The preparations for the feast being at length completed, a servant came into the room with the tisht or washing apparatus, and to assist in performing our ablutions according to the Mahometan custom. The tisht consists of a shallow pewter basin with a very broad brim, and

occasionally a stand for soap in the centre. The jug containing the water is generally large, as the contents have to serve for all the company. Sometimes a clean napkin is given to each person; but the Turks of inferior rank are not often so prodigal, making even one suffice for a whole party. The servant carries the napkin on his left shoulder. With one knee on the ground, he presents the tisht first to the person they conceive to be of the highest rank in the room; who thus honoured, holds his hands over it, whilst the servant pours the water upon them. The lower part or basin of the tisht is covered with a sieve, through which the soiled water passes. Soap is always used; and the fashion is, to produce as great a lather on the hands as possible, while the servants pour at intervals clean water from the jug. When the Turk has wiped his hands on the towel, which he replaces on the servant's shoulder, the latter passes on immediately to the next in rank, there being no necessity to empty the basin, as the soiled water beneath the strainer is not visible, and as the person who is washing his hands, has no occasion to touch the tisht. By this Oriental method the hands are never

touched by the impure water, fresh water being poured over them half a dozen times and even oftener, during these quick but effectual ablutions. The utensils used in some of the ceremonies of the Holy Week at Rome, such as the washing the pilgrims, &c., are exactly like these, except that they are of gold instead of pewter, and the manner of using them is almost precisely the same: hence, I think, we may infer, that this part of the Romish ceremony had its origin in the East.

The dinner was served on the usual round Turkish copper tray, tinned by Arabs at about a tenth of the price which Europeans would charge. The first course consisted of a famous *piece de resistance*, a large and fat lamb roasted whole, and stuffed with rice well-seasoned and mixed with raisins. Each person was provided with a spoon to help himself to the stuffing; but we had no other instrument than our fingers, to tear the meat from the bones.

At first, I felt considerable reluctance to tuck up my sleeves and stick my nails into the skin, flesh, and fat of the dish before me; but it had not been long on the table, before the Turk set us the example: besides, hunger on such oc-

casions is no bad prompter; and the dish looked, as it proved to be, most excellent.

The apprehension of every evil is worse than the reality. I had never eaten before with my fingers, but although I do not nor can I ever approve of the custom, still I confess, that hunger and example will reconcile a man to it: and there, as in Europe, he who has seen good society, may be distinguished even by his manner of eating. The Turk of high rank eats with the thumb and two fingers only, out of the corner nearest to him of the dish, and takes only a small piece at a time: the vulgar Oriental sticks his whole hand into the dish, tears off huge pieces, greases himself from ear to ear, and, what is still more disgusting, attempts to clean his filthy fingers with his tongue. The right hand only is used in eating. The Turk of the present day would consider it as great an insult and mark of contempt in his guest using the left hand, as the Coptic merchant did in the Arabian Nights: but it is necessary to have been in the East to understand, why the Bagdad merchant's mistress, in the same tale, was offended at his taking the cup of wine with the left hand, and her being so afflicted as to sicken

and die, when she found her lover had lost his right hand.

After the lamb, we had several stewed dishes which I found more disagreeable to partake of; indeed I scalded myself in making the attempt. A piece of bread in some degree protected our fingers, and enabled us to fish out the small morsels into which the meat was divided. A large bowl of very good custard was finally brought in, a spoon was given to each person, and we dipped and dipped again into the dish together.

The disadvantages of using the fingers must be apparent to the reader; and is in reality a mode of eating little more refined, than that of pigs feeding together out of the same trough. By this Oriental method you have indeed the meat quite hot; and as there is assuredly no ceremony in eating out of the same bowl, the Arabs may well consider it a bond of faith: but the greatest advantage that I will allow to it is, that the dinner, though consisting often of a vast number of dishes, is despatched in an extraordinary short time. The Pasha and many of the great Turks at Cairo, have adopted the European fashion of using knives and forks.

The Katschef, like the generality of his countrymen, is a great friend to the bottle : he complained repeatedly, that he had no better beverage to offer us than arracke or spirit of the country ; and he gave us so many hints that he should like to taste our wine, that Mr. H. sent for some.

The Turks of high rank almost invariably and openly indulge in wine, except sometimes when their residence is in the remote provinces, such as at Dongolah, Kordofan, Sennaar, &c., where deference for the prejudices of a people more superstitious, or rather more observant of the ordinances of their religion, prevents their openly setting the example of disobedience to the law of the Koran. The seclusion, however, and perfect privacy of their harems afford them the opportunity of gratifying their fondness for the favourite beverage, without losing the esteem and respect of the Sheakhs, Cadis, and other rigid Mahometans under their authority. Besides, as wine is a costly article, they are thus saved the expense of introducing it at their daily entertainments. The Turks are indeed no bad judges of champagne and claret, particularly of the former.

#### 46 INTERESTED CONDUCT OF THE KATSHEF.

Owing perhaps to the influence of the wine, the Katshef talked politics more freely than is the usual custom of the Turks. He is quite of the party of the Sultan, as are many of the Turkish officers in Egypt. The Pasha does not pay them so bountifully as they desire, nor does he allow them so much liberty to enrich themselves by their extortions, as they have been accustomed to enjoy under less vigilant governments.

After we had smoked our pipes and drunk coffee, we went to our tents accompanied by the Katshef, who persisted in returning with us. His motive for this attention was soon visible. He had given us several hints for a present, when we were at his house; but without success, for we really had nothing that we could spare. On our return, we of course asked him to smoke a pipe, and take coffee; but we were scarcely seated on our divans, when he began to beg in the most gross manner. He asked Mr. Hay several times for his gun, then he asked for mine, and in fact for every thing that he saw or knew we had with us, without considering whether we could spare it or not. He looked exceedingly mortified at being refused; but we

felt under no obligation to him, having given to his servants twice the value of his dinner, which money he would take care to extort from them. It is very disgusting to meet with minds so ignoble, that they can only show you any favour or civility from the sordid expectation of a lucrative return.

*15th Oct. 1832.* — We left Risigat at ten this morning, and shortly afterwards we arrived at a canal filled by the inundation. We dismounted for a short time, and our camels filled their natural reservoirs with a supply of water for the four days' desert; in other words, they took the drink which was to support them until their arrival at the Oasis.

I felt some reluctance at leaving the valley of the Nile, and penetrating into the waterless desert. That excitement, that buoyancy of feeling which generally keeps up the spirits of travellers when undertaking a fresh journey, was not unmixed with some slight apprehensions. I was entering on a sea which was as yet unknown to me. I had read many exaggerated descriptions of the perils and hardships of the desert-life. I was as yet unaccustomed to the fatiguing pace of the dromedary—to the custom of

sleeping in tents; and I could not be unmindful of the consequences, should any accident cause us to fall short of water. The stumbling of a camel might burst some of the geerbahs containing the water of the caravan, or might smash some dozens of our stock in the bottles. The very difficulties, however, of a journey only enhance our enjoyment of it, except we are of that advanced age, when ease and comfort are almost indispensably requisite.

We passed through a narrow valley, that had all the appearance of being the bed of an immense river, and by five we arrived at the foot of the range of hills, which form the western boundary of this part of the valley of the Nile. After reposing a few minutes under the shade of a rock, we scaled the hills, which might, perhaps, be 400 feet high. I observed, that the rocks consisted almost entirely of flint stone. At sunset we pitched our tents.

*16th Oct.*—Whilst our servants and the Arabs were striking our tents, and loading the camels, we took a cup of coffee and a piece of bread, and smoked the morning's pipe on our carpets. At six o'clock we commenced the day's journey. We passed through several immense plains of

flint-stone rock, over which the sand had drifted, and was lying in the crevices of the neighbouring hills ; as we sometimes see snow in the mountains of Europe.

At noon we pitched a tent, to repose from the extreme heat, and to breakfast, close to some thorns, which afforded shade to our men and pasture to the camels. We observed on the bushes an extraordinary chrysalis of some unknown insect. If water was dug for near this place, I think there is little doubt, but that without much labour it would be found.

After two hours rest we set out again, and passed several large plains surrounded by conical and flat hills, consisting of flint-stone of various colours, but principally white, their formation almost resembling fortifications. At five o'clock we passed a road on our left, which seemed to run south west. The Arabs say, that it leads to Bernese, a village of the south part of the Oasis : and an hour afterwards, we pitched our tents under the shelter of a small hill.

From some of the little eminences dividing the large plains, which we crossed to-day, I enjoyed views of a vast expanse of desert. There is something awfully grand in the sight of such a

wilderness. The ocean even when troubled, but particularly when at rest, excites in us deep and pleasurable sensations ; a thousand delightful associations are connected with it ; and though we may dread and fear its perils, our admiration of its wonders surpasses every other feeling. But the waterless, barren, trackless, dreary, waste, deadens the feelings, and throws a gloom over our very existence. And when we consider how few and narrow are the verdant valleys in this vast continent — how limited and confined are the little spots inhabited and cultivated by man, compared to the thousands of miles of sandy, fruitless, oceans, truly we may say with Young,

“ A part how small of the terraqueous globe  
Is tenanted by man ; the rest a waste ;  
Rocks, deserts, frozen seas, and burning sands,  
Wild haunts of monsters, poison, sting and death ;  
Such is earth’s melancholy map.”

*17th Oct. 1835.* — We mounted our dromedaries this morning two hours before sunrise, and passed over several plains of the same description, as was mentioned yesterday. We reposed for three hours at noon under the shade

of our tents, and encamped at sunset. This morning I deviated from the track, to examine some large masses of crystal among the rocks, when suddenly I found that the whole caravan had disappeared. I must confess, that I felt rather alarmed, when I saw myself thus alone, as it were, in the wilderness; but a moment's reflection convinced me, that the disappearance of my companions was only owing to their having passed over the hill, that lay before me.

It is, however, most imprudent to linger behind a caravan, nothing being more easy than to miss the track, particularly when a light wind has suddenly covered over with sand the traces of the camels, or when the hardness of the road does not admit of there being any. In difficult places of the latter description, the direction is often marked by small piles of stones on those eminences, which the caravan should pass; and it is the general custom of the Arabs to increase these guide stones, by each person contributing one to the mass. The road, however, may be said to be almost as clearly delineated by the white bleached bones of the dead camels, which have perished on the journey. The number of these remaining is quite extraordinary; and,

considering the few caravans that pass this road, the quantity of bones can only be accounted for by the dryness of the atmosphere, and, consequently, the length of time required, before they are entirely decomposed. Our habeer and camel-men assured us, that most of the skeletons were the traces of the large caravans of Mamelukes and peasants, who fled to the Oasis on the arrival of the French in Upper Egypt.

We now find, that we have every reason to congratulate ourselves at having taken the precaution to bottle our water, to ensure to ourselves the enjoyment of a wholesome beverage during the passage of the desert; as the water in the geerbahs is become quite black, almost like ditch water. The camel men are accustomed to this nauseous beverage; and I perceive, that even our servants relish it, from the mere circumstance, that, bad as it is, they are allowed so little of it.

The habeer, or guide, is always the captain of the caravan, and decides all the disputes, which are constantly arising between the men, about the carriage of the provisions, geerbahs, tents, &c. He also has charge of the water, and distributes it with impartial justice. Twice

in the morning, and twice in the afternoon, a geerbah is opened; and a certain portion, as nearly as I could guess, about a pint, is given to each. As the gourd or measure is wanted immediately for another, the Arab takes all his portion at a draught; and whatever his thirst may be, while he is walking over these burning sands and rocks, he is obliged patiently to endure it until the next drinking time.

I have my cases, containing the bottles of water, carried into my tent every night, and keep a regular account of the number. Some two or three have been broken during the journey, and apparently not by accident. I had strong suspicions of my servant Mustapha. The saddle of his camel\*, which carried besides himself the greatest part of my water, was always wanting to be arranged; and under that plea he was ever and anon lingering behind, often until the caravan was out of sight. Some of the Arabs were tempted to stay behind in the same way, with a camel carrying two geerbahs of water; and it

\* The only difference between the camel and the dromedary is, that the latter is lighter made, and therefore more gentle in its paces. The camel may be considered as a cart-horse, the dromedary as a racer.

was afterwards discovered that a considerable quantity had been taken from one of the skins. Besides the loss of the water, the caravan was thus detained, being apprehensive that they might mistake the track. We were, therefore, obliged to pass a law, that each servant should take care, that his own camel was properly saddled ; and that if from neglect of this, or any other reason, the caravan was detained on his account, the offender should be punished, by finishing the day's journey on foot.

My man Mustapha was the first to sin, prompted by his thirst and the tempting sight of the bottles beneath him. He was inclined to be insolent, when first the sentence was passed upon him ; but after a few hours' walking, he became very humble and penitent. At last he came up to me, and after walking some time by my side, looking at me repeatedly and imploringly, and then casting his eyes on the ground, he asked me if I really intended to be so cruel, as to make him walk like the Arabs, the camel men, all the day on the hot sands ? “ Why, Mustapha, I said, are not you an Arab also ? and they are honest, but you stayed behind to steal the water.” He answered in linguâ

Frankâ, which he had learnt at Luxor :—“ No Effende, me non ruba acqua, me non Arab, me vostro servo ; Arab sa niente, me sa tutto, me non Arab — ma me va morir.” His appeal to Mr. H. and Mr. C. was equally eloquent, and the expression of his countenance most ludicrously piteous : and as he promised faithfully to sin no more, we consented to mitigate his punishment.

*18th October.* — We have travelled ten hours this day, over the same description of circular plains, sometimes bounded by small hills, often only by the horizon. We have seen in the desert not a single tree, and scarcely even any signs of vegetation, except a few patches of a small plant, which I gathered not only for its beauty, but also for its solitariness, growing here alone in the wilderness. The leaf was almost like that of the Pennsylvania geranium, and the flower is somewhat similar. It grows to the height of about three inches.

We saw to-day a small white bird with black tail-feathers. Last night our men caught a light fawn-coloured rat : I also found a fawn-coloured lizard ; and a second similar to it, but with pink spots. This light fawn colour is generally that

of the animals and insects in the desert, the lion, gazelle, antelope, giraffe, and many other tenants of the wilderness, have their coats of the same tint as the sand.

Immediately before pitching our tents, we passed a curious large plain, bounded by the horizon, in which were strata of extremely white flint-stone, of such a wavy form, that the plain had almost the very appearance of a sea.

We have passed, as usual, numerous carcasses and bones of camels, bleaching on the sand. The remains of one we saw that had perished more recently; and two vultures were still endeavouring to find a meal upon it. On our approach, they flew to a rock close adjoining; and perhaps it was fancy, but they seemed to me to eye the condition of our camels most wistfully.

We were astonished this morning at meeting an Arab crossing the desert alone, without either a camel or a donkey. Having had an attack of fever, he was left behind by his caravan, and now, with a geerbah of water hanging on his arm, and some dates and bread in his melayah, which served as his provision bag in the day-time and his blanket by night, he was returning to his home in the valley of the Nile.

Such a picture of solitariness and yet enterprise, I have rarely witnessed. It was an extraordinary sight to see him making his way on foot over these burning sands, apparently fearless of man or beast, heat or fatigue. It recalled most forcibly to my recollection those beautiful lines of Wordsworth :—

“ Thee hath some awful spirit impelled to leave,  
Utterly to desert the haunts of men,  
Though simple thy companions were and few ;  
And through this wilderness a passage cleave,  
Attended but by thy own voice, save when  
The clouds and fowls of the air thy way pursue.”

*River Duddon.*

19th. Oct.— We mounted our dromedaries at six, and in four hours arrived at what had appeared to us from a distance to be either a great chasm in the plain, or a line of elevated ground, screening as before another more distant plain ; but on approaching nearer, we found that the extremity of the high level we were then traversing, was the summit of the range of mountains, called Hagel Bel Badah, the eastern boundary of the great valley of the Oasis.

## CHAP. IV.

FIRST VIEW OF THE OASIS. — DELIGHT ON ARRIVING AT THE WATERING-PLACE. — RUINS OF CHRISTIAN EDIFICES. — SOURCE OF WATER. — MOUNDS OF SAND. — ROMAN AQUEDUCTS. — VISIT FROM THE SHEAKH AND PRINCIPAL INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF GENAH. — EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS.

EVERY countenance was animated with joy, in which even our camels seemed to participate, by quickening their pace. We were all glad that our present fatigues were over; but the delight of the camel-men and of our servants was especially great, as they had been on short allowance of bad water for nearly five days. They rejoiced, therefore, exceedingly, at seeing again an inhabited country, and groves of their favourite palm-trees.

The view of the Oasis from the summit of Hagel Bel Badah, by no means equalled my expectations. Let the reader imagine a long and broad valley bounded nearly on every side by low, and, I might say, horizontal ranges of

mountains, and the whole surface of this enclosed space, one immense down of light moving sand, drifted in some places into the form of small hills, which seemed to require but a slight wind to be again in motion. In this fearful valley is a narrow broken chain, a verdant thread of little groves of date-trees. No other vegetation is visible from the point where we stood, except a few shrubs and a little herbage, which mark the courses of the waters of the different springs, somewhat similar to, but not so beautiful and luxuriant as the hedges of our brooks in England. The place seemed to me not unlike a vast lake of sand, which had rushed into the valley, and buried under its waves all the former richness and verdure. The streams, protected in some measure by the shrubs and a few detached groves of palm-trees, alone escaping, through their elevated situation, the general destruction, and appearing like little islands in this sea of barrenness.

From the summit of the hill above the valley of the Nile to this point, the ascent through the wilderness has often been perceptible, but not very great. The thermometer since we came into the desert, has been nearly the same every

day,  $51^{\circ}$  or  $52^{\circ}$  at sunrise, about  $86^{\circ}$  the extreme heat, and  $76^{\circ}$  at sunset.

I consider the summit of this range to be about 1200 feet above the level of the valley below. The surface of the mountain is extremely rough; and has certainly the appearance of being volcanic, consisting of heaps of tufa, thrown up as it were by the continued action of internal heat, or some great effort of nature.

The distance from the summit of the mountain into the valley of the Oasis, is about three miles. On account of the extreme roughness of the road, we were obliged to descend it on foot. It took us two hours to reach the plain, which would seem to indicate that the mountain is higher than I have stated; but it must be taken into consideration, that the path for half of the way was level, sometimes even slightly ascending, and that the descent when rapid was zigzag. I regret that none of us had a barometer. The variation of the thermometer upon the higher and lower ground was  $7^{\circ}$ ; from which we must deduct the usual increase of heat between ten o'clock and noon.

We arrived by four o'clock at a brook of water which runs at a short distance below a

range of hills, in the centre of the valley, called el Gern. We there encamped for the night.

It was interesting to see the delight which our Arabs and animals exhibited, each in his particular way, on arriving at the water. Without being urged, the camels, from experience or instinct, quickened their pace, as we approached the stream ; and without waiting to be unloaded, rushed to the water and took a hearty draught. They were all very much annoyed with a disgusting kind of vermis, about the size of a caterpillar, that had lodged in their nostrils ; but by means of the water, blowing at the same time through their noses, and shaking their heads, they managed to throw off most of their tormentors. I could not prevail upon the owners of the camels to clear them away. The Arabs nourish their camels as cheaply as they can, rejoice when there are a few thorns and bushes to save the expense of giving them better food, and otherwise bestow no care or trouble upon them.

Our men ran to the water as eagerly as the camels ; and, from the quantity they drank, I thought they would have made themselves ill. They afterwards performed their ablutions for

their comfort if not for their religion's sake ; and many of them, by way of giving themselves a thorough soaking, bathed in the stream. We also were glad to have the luxury of an unlimited supply for our tubs, as in the desert we could not, of course, spare many bottles of our valuable water for that purpose. I indeed occasionally followed the advice of Mahomet, who tells his followers to use sand when they have no water for their ablutions ; but I must confess I found it a very poor substitute.

“ S'io avessi Letter più lungo spazio  
Da scrivere, io pur cantere 'n parte  
Lo dolce ber, che mai non m'avria sazio,  
Ma perche piene son tutte le carte  
Ordita a questa cantica seconda,  
Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell'arte.”

Dante.

Our direction from Risigat has been west about  $10^{\circ}$  south, and we have travelled in all 50 hours, which, at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour, makes the Oasis to be 125 miles from the valley of the Nile. I ascended a range of hills called el Gern, from whence I enjoyed a very extensive view of the country. In forming my opinion of the Oasis, and in describing it to the reader, I

feel that it is very necessary to be particularly guarded in my expressions, that I may not give an erroneous idea of it by exaggerating its beauty, and that I may at the same time do justice to the attractions which it indubitably possesses, although the value of these attractions chiefly arises from the effect of contrast: for after wandering many days through an almost leafless bladeless waste, any vegetation looks lovely.

The traveller in the fruitful, but dreary, naked plains of Bohemia, and especially when, as I have seen them, burnt up by the sun, is delighted if he meets with a small plantation and a little verdure. The voyager in the ocean thinks every island which he passes, that is green and contains a few trees, a little paradise. But if the plantation surrounded by fruitful, though naked plains, and the island of the ocean which enchanted the voyager, could be transported into the midst of fairer regions of the earth, the enchantment would be broken, and he would probably think them even drawbacks to the superior beauty of the scenery around them. The fair appearance then of this Oasis is in a great measure fictitious; and has chiefly its origin in the relief afforded to the

mind, wearied by the monotony and dreariness of the surrounding wastes. It seems to me therefore, that the only rational way of accounting for the exaggerated epithets which the ancient writers and some modern travellers have applied to this district, is to attribute them to their surprise, at finding in such a fearful region any verdure, any habitable spot, and to the exhilarating effect on the spirits of this agreeable contrast to the dreary deserts which they have just crossed. But comfortless as was my journey through the wilderness, and beautiful as the woods of palm-trees, doums, and acacias in the Oasis certainly are, still the vivid recollection of the superior loveliness of the banks of the Nile, prevents my consenting to call these regions “the Gardens of the Hesperides :” and sadly must the Oasis have diminished in beauty, if it ever merited the praise which Herodotus bestowed upon the place, in calling it “the Island of the Blessed.”

This valley has, however, the appearance of having once been more cultivated; for I observed several groups of trees now almost buried in the sand, and evidently deriving suction from some secret source; and many of

the banks of the streams present the appearance of having been only very recently overspread with the light sands which have drifted in like snow, from the adjoining plains of the great Libyan desert.

The valley of the Oasis is bounded on the east by the low horizontal range of hills, which we descended yesterday, called Hagel Bel Badah. Their direction is north and south, with a little inclination towards the east. Parallel to this range, but about twelve miles distant from its base, is the track of a stream of water, which has its source at Genah, a village north-west of the point: it may be traced for many miles, but at last is lost in the sands. On the banks of the stream are doums and acacias, and occasionally it passes through small groves of date trees. (See plate 19.) Except a little long grass which grows close to the edge of the brook, no verdure is apparent. The opposite side of the valley is partly bounded by a low range of horizontal mountains, called Gibel el Rharb, or the western mountain. North of the range of hills called El Gern, and isolated in the centre of the valley, is El Khargeh, the metropolis of the Oasis, surrounded by a forest of palm trees.

Mr. C. made an observation of latitude at a sheakh's tomb, on the hills called El Gern, and found it to agree very nearly with Mr. Cailliaud's map.

In descending the hill, we deviated from our route, in order to visit a little building which had attracted our attention. It is of brick, and apparently a Coptic tomb or the residence of a hermit. It is built upon a rock, not probably for the sake of the stability of the foundation, but more likely as a protection from the incroaching waves of the desert. There are curious holes in the walls, the purpose of which is not now evident: the situation is singularly wild and dreary. I visited last night the ruins of another brick edifice, evidently of the time of the Christians; a few arches only are worthy of observation. Their situation is equally savage. It is highly probable that these Christian ruins may once have been the abode of those ascetics or enthusiastic monks, who, as Gibbon says, "rivalled the Stoics in the contempt of fortune, of pain, and of death; revived in their servile discipline the Pythagorean silence and submission; and disdained as firmly as the Cynics themselves all the forms and decencies of civil

society." The contemplative life may have its joys, and solitude undoubtedly has many charms ; but a long sojourn in such a dismal abode as this, could only have the effect of deadening every fine and noble feeling of our nature.

A short distance from this tomb we observed the top of a large tree, which shades a spring of water. We were rather surprised on arriving at the place, to find so splendid a sunt tree situated in a hollow below the plain. The water in the spring is tolerably good, but there is very little of it, and it seems to have been cut off from its chief feeders, as the appearance of the rock from which it issues leads me to infer that it has formerly been deeper and more copious than it is at present. The sunt tree which adorns the source is such a noble specimen of its kind, and it was so extraordinary to see water issuing from the rock in such a dry and arid region, that I considered it not unworthy of a sketch.

After visiting this site, we examined several of the mounds of sand, with which the plain is covered. They are very remarkable, having almost the appearance of being artificially formed. The

layers of sand are in some instances very regular and curious : by counting the different strata, we might almost reckon the number of storms, the united contributions of which have formed them. It would be a curious and interesting inquiry for a geologist, to ascertain the reason of their apparently capricious formation. Has the drifting sand lodged around the walls of some little building, ruin, plant or tree, and gradually rising, at last hid its origin from our observation? or has a slight natural eminence or fragment of rock impeded the current of the storm, and acted as the nucleus, around which the whirling eddies have deposited themselves? If they had been of earth, and in a more classic land, they might be taken for tumuli of departed heroes.

On the plain below the hills of El Gern are several fragments of aqueducts, or, more correctly speaking, conduits. They are of stone ; the sides one foot thick, the channel for the water shallow, and the breadth one foot. I conceive that they are Roman ; and they evidently prove that greater civilisation once existed in these regions than at present ; that considerable pains were taken in irrigating the

land ; and that this plain, which is now a desert, was at some former period cultivated.

A deputation, consisting of the sheakh and some others of the chief men of the village of Genah, waited to offer their congratulations on our arrival in the Oasis, and to beg that we would do them the favour to visit their village, which they described as “ quies kateer,” (exceedingly beautiful.) They brought us presents of the most delicious dates I have ever tasted, some excellent pomegranates, limes, and bad flavourless oranges.

They were decently dressed in brown woollen gowns of their own manufacture, red shoes, and tarboushes ; and around the latter, they had turbans of various colours, yellow, blue, green, and white. Some of them were very good-looking men, and there was a certain mixture of gravity and dignity in their deportment which was very engaging.

Having opened their hearts with a cup of coffee and a pipe of good tobacco, they answered all the questions we put to them concerning the antiquities, commerce, produce, government, population, &c. of the place.

They told us that the village of Boulak was

two hours' walk from their place ; the temple of Kasr Ouaty scarcely one hour ; and the metropolis three hours and a half distant. When the sheakhs took leave of us, they expressed themselves very much disappointed that we would not visit their village first ; but we had previously determined to go direct to the metropolis and the principal ruins.

In return for the present of fruit, we gave them a sum of money. Travellers need never allow their feelings of delicacy to prevent their offering five or six shillings to a sheakh of a village, or a peasant, for any present he may have offered to him, or for any service he may have performed. We had been too long accustomed to the Arabs, not to be aware that the fruit they brought us, in appearance as a mark of civility, was given on their part with the thorough consciousness of receiving a return considerably more valuable. Instead, therefore, of depriving ourselves of any article which we might afterwards want, and the utility of which to them might, perhaps, be doubtful, we gave them in money ten times the value of their own present ; and to judge from their manner of receiving it, we could not have made them a more acceptable gift.

## CHAPTER V.

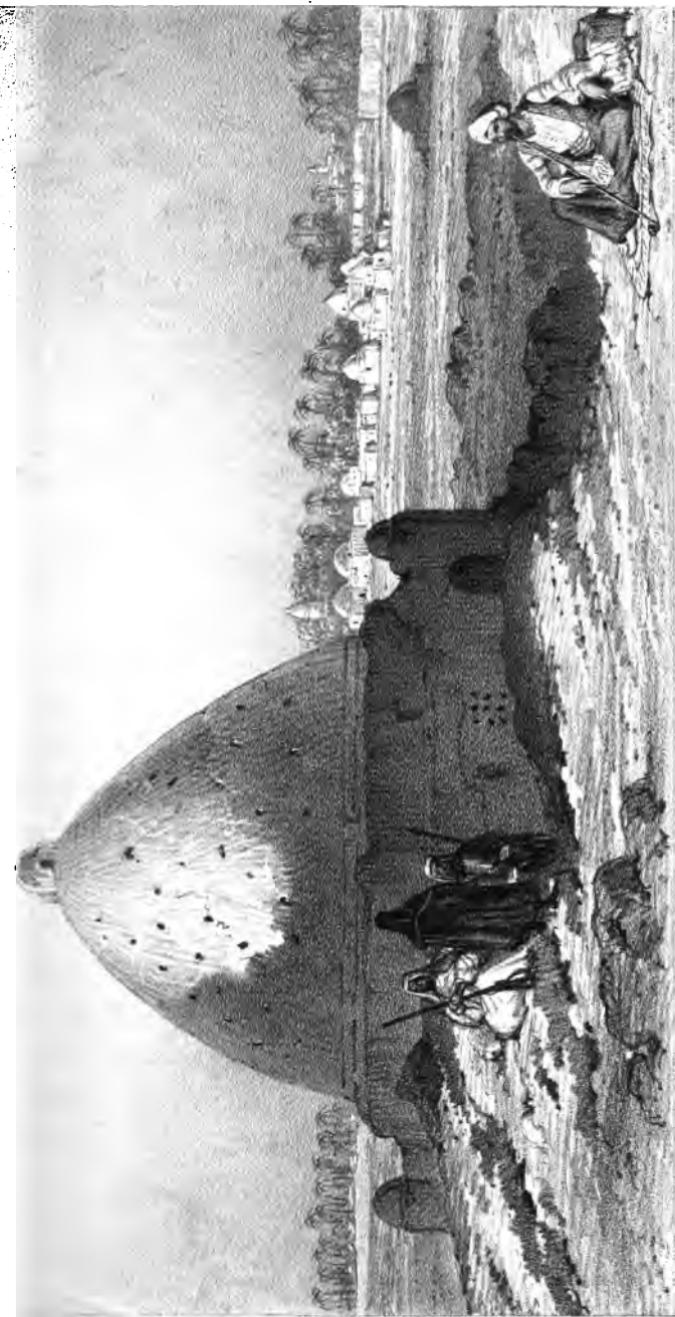
EL KHARGEH, THE METROPOLIS OF THE OASIS.—FORESTS OF DATE TREES.—TOMBS OF SHEAKHS.—ACCUMULATIONS OF SAND.—VISIT FROM THE SHEAKHS.—SINGULAR STREETS.—PICTURESQUE GROUPS IN THE BAZAAR.—GARDENS.—HOUSES.—INHABITANTS.—UNHEALTHINESS OF THE CLIMATE.—GOVERNMENT.—COMMERCE.—CARAVAN TO DARFOUR.—COSTUMES.—WOMEN.—POPULATION.

EL KHARGEH, *20th Oct.*—We rode here in three hours and a half. I shall include in this description of the metropolis of the Oasis the information I obtained both now and at my subsequent visit after leaving the antiquities.

The view of El Khargeh at a distance is very prepossessing. Its greatest attraction consists in a magnificent thick forest of date trees, which extends probably a mile towards the north and south, and is surrounded by a brick inclosure, like the wall of a park. One or two houses are built in this inclosure, forming, as it were, the gates of the city. The flat roofs of many habitations are visible among the trees; and the

domes of two mosques, with their galleries, from which they cry the hour of prayer, are conspicuous, towering even above the lofty palms. (See plate 1.) At the north extremity of the city, without the walls, is a cemetery of the sheakhs. The domes over each tomb add very much to the picturesque appearance of the place. At the southern extremity of the city is a similar cemetery. (See plate 1.) The architecture of all the sepulchres is generally the same: — a dome, sometimes with an ornament at the top, resting on plain cemented mud walls, and surrounded by a square enclosure, occasionally embellished at the angles with buttresses. The domes, as will be remarked in the view, are often perforated with holes, to admit the air, but not the sun, and are thus rendered cool and pleasant. They are agreeable places to sleep in during the heat of the day; and it is not now more unusual for dervishes in the East to use such buildings for that purpose, than it was in the days of Caliph Haroun el Rashid.

These cemeteries possess an additional interest when we consider that they are not the tombs of sheakhs, who were merely chiefs of villages;



C. A. Roberts Esq. M.A. F.R.S. &c

THE EARTH AND THE TIDES OF THE MANKS.

By F. R. G. L. M. &c. The King



but of persons who properly bore that title, and who were in reality independent princes, rulers of little commonwealths, uncivilised, indeed, but free; which occasionally, perhaps, paid a slight tribute to the rulers of Egypt; but were often exempt from that tax, and always entirely uncontrolled as to their internal government. One family dynasty among them succeeded another without anarchy or confusion, the book of the Prophet being their only guide; and, when the Koran was not sufficient, custom or common sense supplied the deficiency.

The desert reaches close to the walls of the eastern side of the city, and at a short distance only from them are immense mounds of light moving sand. I never could conceive the possibility of a caravan being overwhelmed by the simoom, until I saw these extraordinary accumulations. A great storm might easily put them in motion; and I can therefore credit the accounts, which I have received from the peasants, that they sometimes disappear in one place, and appear rapidly in another. Under such hills as these, and in these very deserts, the army of Cambyses is supposed by some to have been entombed. It is fearful to behold

close to the abode of man such mighty instruments of destruction and death.

Having surveyed the exterior of the city, and also made a drawing of it, I returned to my tent ; and after breakfast we received a deputation of the sheakhs and principal persons of the place. They were dressed similarly as, but better than, the sheakhs of Genah, and were in general tall men, with fine features, long respectable beards, and fierce mustachios. The chief sheakh of the Oasis was a very fine old personage. His costume was similar to that of the others, except that he wore a very gay yellow and green turban. They brought us fruit and a sheep, for which we gave them a sum of money. They took coffee, smoked their pipes, and gave us all the information we required. Except this deputation, not one of the natives, men or women, had the curiosity to come out to look at us. We were told, that no Europeans had been there before for seven years ; indeed, not very many have at any period of time been in the place. Mr. Hay's tent was, perhaps, the gayest that had ever been pitched in the Oasis ; and it might have been imagined, that a visit from foreigners to such a little remote district

would have been hailed as a novelty, and excited some curiosity ; but the indolence and apathy, which so strongly characterise the uncivilised natives of Africa, prevented any of the inhabitants from taking the trouble to walk out of the town to visit us, except those few, whose station called upon them so to do ; such as the sheakhs, and the Turkish caimacam, who resides here to receive the tribute.

The principal sheakh having offered to show us the city, we accepted his services, being anxious not only to examine the houses, but also to have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the inhabitants.

The streets are very curious, extremely narrow and tortuous, winding I may say in every direction ; and being entirely covered by roofs, they are so dark and intricate, that it would be as difficult for a stranger to pass through the town without a guide, as it would have been to thread the mazes of the Cretan labyrinth. Sometimes a slight gleam of light, or the contrary, a deeper shade, indicated an aperture in the wall, while our guide was pithily remarking as we passed along, “ See, see, this is a house, and that is a house.” Certainly, if our

friend the sheakh had not had the kindness to show us some places where the influence of the orb of day was not so completely excluded, we should have walked through the city without seeing either house or inhabitant.

It was quite a relief when we quitted these dark lanes, and entered a little open court in which is the bazaar. Here we found a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants formed into three groups of about thirty each. Two of these groups were collected in different corners of the court, round the dead carcasses of two camels, which the owners were cutting to pieces, and selling to those who had the means of purchase.

I have rarely witnessed a more picturesque and characteristic scene. The individuals of the first rank were seated immediately around the camels, enjoying at their ease the gratifying spectacle. They were evidently, from the superiority of their costume, the richness of their turbans, and their respectable and dignified manner, the elders or principal persons of the city. If their composed and contented air did not positively prove that they were rich, it was certainly pretty good evidence that they had

the means to buy, or had already purchased a share of the camel. Those of the row behind were standing ; some of them had already purchased their portions of meat, and were apparently waiting to see how much their neighbours got ; whilst others were bargaining keenly to obtain as much as they could for their money. As no weights were used, the altercations and disputes were occasionally rather warm. Several peasants more miserably attired than the rest, and with dolorous faces, who seemed only able to indulge themselves with a sight of their favourite but over-expensive dish, formed the background to this picturesque group.

Had not Mr. H. and Mr. C. passed on with the sheakh, I should have lingered some time longer, in order to study the physiognomies of the natives, and enjoy this singular and curious scene. Besides the two groups round the camels, there was a third, quite as numerous, but more changeable, near a vast heap of dourah.

We went from the bazaar to one of the gardens on the western side of the city, the beauty and luxuriance of which we had heard rapturously extolled. It was the garden of the

sheakh, and considered to be the finest in the Oasis ; but we found that its beauty had been sadly exaggerated. It contained a variety of fruit trees, mixed together without any order or skill in the arrangement. Nature had indeed done much ; art nothing more than the planting and nourishing them by means of small gutters, which every where intersect the ground. The pruning knife had apparently never been used, the branches being allowed to straggle in every direction ; and there was a sad want of cleanliness. I observed, however, such a variety of trees, as is seldom seen in one garden ; the mixture of the foliage had a very striking effect ; and when the trees are in blossom or in full bearing, they must be still more beautiful. Besides the palms, there were orange and lemon trees, more remarkable here for their luxuriant growth than the quality of their fruit ; pomegranates still bearing a few delicious clusters ; banana plants, which seem to thrive very well ; the standard apricot tree, which the inhabitants say is every year profusely laden ; together with an abundance of olives bearing fruit, which appeared fine on the tree ; but the

people do not seem to know how to prepare them, for what they subsequently offered to us for sale were not eatable. The oil, indeed, they make from them is said to be good, and to be a great source of profit. It is, however, very true, that neither the olive nor the vine is calculated for this climate. The sun is too powerful, drying up the exposed side before the other is at all matured.

The reader will have perceived from this list of picturesque and ornamental trees, that these gardens are pretty. Nature thus abandoned to herself, will always present many attractions : the lofty palm, for instance, towering above, and having the nakedness of its stem concealed by the bushy and luxuriant oranges ; and the brilliant yet sombre tints of the latter enhanced by their contrast to the elegant silver foliage of the olives. But beautiful as these combinations must certainly be allowed to be, they are not sufficient to constitute a lovely garden. There were no breaks to enable us distinctly to see the different trees, which were mingled together like as in a farmer's orchard. There were no walks, no shady bowers, no green swards, no beds of roses ; but, what was worse, there had

evidently never been any attempts to keep the ground under the trees in order ; it was rough, uneven, and strewed with sticks and stones ; and the canals for irrigating the trees, though of course indispensable, yet nevertheless detracted greatly from the appearance of the place.

The sheakh conducted us into a shed, a miserable substitute for an arbour, where we reposed on some dirty mats ; but forgetting for the time that we had ever seen any thing more beautiful, we abandoned ourselves to the enjoyment of the refreshing prospect of green trees, being not a little relieved that the odious desert was for once out of sight. The worthy sheakh's servants made us coffee ; and the walk having given me an appetite, I feasted immoderately on his luscious dates and exquisite pomegranates.

The houses of El Khargeh, like those in Egypt, are mud hovels with flat roofs. Many of them are large, and a considerable number have a first floor. They, however, generally present the same evidence of poverty and uncleanly habits. Indolence prevents the people endeavouring to make their habitations comfortable ; but indeed among the natives generally

of the eastern regions, neatness is a virtue rarely found.

It would be almost unreasonable to expect in climates, the extreme heat of which naturally produces a certain lassitude and an unwillingness to make any exertion, except such as is absolutely necessary, the same energy and fondness for washing and cleaning, which, the further we go northward among the civilised nations of Europe, the more we find characteristic of the inhabitants. I do not mean, however, to say, that the huts of the peasants in the Oasis are at all more filthy than those of the fellahs in the villages of Egypt, and of other Orientals; having merely mentioned their uncleanliness in the preceding terms, to convey a correct idea to the reader accustomed only to see our English cottages.

The inhabitants of this town, and indeed of all the Oasis, have (with some exceptions), not such strongly marked features as the Arab of the Nile, and their complexion is lighter than that of the peasants of Egypt in the same latitude. But they are chiefly remarkable for the pallid and unhealthy hue of their countenances, just such a tint or rather expression,

allowing for the difference of colour, as distinguishes the inhabitants of the Pontine marshes ; a languid and sickly appearance ; a listlessness in their manner ; a sluggishness in their movements ; a total want of energy and vivacity ; — all proofs of the insalubrity of the climate, and the wretched effects of a baneful malaria. This pallid hue is most remarkable in their children and women ; the men, exposed to the influence of a tropical sun, have an appearance somewhat less unhealthy.

The disorder, which spreads such ravages, and which seems to diminish their population as insensibly but as certainly as the desert yearly encroaches on the cultivated land, is a remittent fever, with which they are visited at every return of the summer or autumn. This evidently does not arise entirely from the exhalations of the rice fields, for the parts of the Oasis where they grow no rice are equally infected ; nor from their eating so many dates, as some travellers have supposed. I conceive it arises in a great measure from the bad quality of the water, of which, during the hot weather of the summer and autumn, they are tempted

to drink immoderately, and which accounts for their suffering only at those particular periods.

Ophthalmia also seems a very general complaint. We met with numerous instances of it during our journey. In the course of my narrative I shall have to say more of these disorders than I could wish, having unfortunately been myself the victim to a severe attack both of the ophthalmia and of the remittent fever. The latter was so violent, that it is probable I should have finished my course in the Oasis Magna, had I not been provided with proper remedies.

Notwithstanding this dreadful malady, which annually causes mourning and distress in so many families, the free born inhabitant of the Oasis could not be tempted to change his lot with that of any of the children of the Nile; for though nominally under the dominion of the pasha of Egypt, he has nevertheless the enjoyment of comparative liberty. He is never forced, nor even asked, to quit his home and become a soldier. He is free from extortions and degrading punishments, and from the scorn and contumely of haughty rulers. The disputes and crimes of the inhabitants are judged impartially by their own sheakhs. A Turkish

caimacam resides in el Khargeh, for the sole purpose of collecting a moderate yearly tribute; but, having no soldiers to protect him nor companion in his government, policy obliges him to be conciliatory, and respect the prejudices and feelings of the people. In no instance perhaps has the pasha of Egypt exhibited more good sense, than in his government of the different Oases in the Lybian desert, now under his rule. When he invaded the territory of these people, many of them made an obstinate resistance, but his arms were victorious; and the fruit of his success is a considerable tribute, collected from each Oasis, without either trouble or expense. If he had left large garrisons in each district, their maintenance would have absorbed a great portion of the revenues of the place, their tyrannical conduct would have excited the indignation of the inhabitants, and doubtless many of his soldiers would have fallen victims to the baneful diseases often fatal to the natives, and much more so to strangers.

The pasha has found it conducive to his own interests, to be lenient with them as regards their annual tribute, and to leave the local administration entirely to their own chiefs: and

so long as he exempts them from the extortions, which he exacts elsewhere, it is not probable that the inhabitants of the Oases will attempt to throw off their allegiance to a government whose power they have already felt, and against which they are totally unable to contend.

Many of the sheakhs and merchants are rich and independent. They send their dates to the Nile, where, from their just celebrity, they obtain the highest prices given for that description of fruit; and they bring back in return wheat, of which there is a deficiency in the Oasis, sundry articles of wearing apparel, arms, ornaments, spices, coffee, mirrors, glass beads, and other little articles of hardware, and which they sell again at an immense profit.

The Oasis produces rice, but very inferior to that of the Delta, wheat, millet, dourah (the latter in abundance), and the various fruits, which I have mentioned in describing the gardens. Their great source of wealth, however, and all their commerce and prosperity, depend upon their extensive forests of date trees. It is curious to see a community, isolated by such an uninviting ocean, which few of its members have ever crossed; and in a district rarely visited

except by the great caravan to Darfour, which generally passes every autumn and returns the following spring. The time occupied is twenty-six days; and the route from el Maks, the most southern village of this Oasis, to the Oasis of Sheb is five days, from Sheb to Selimé three days, from Selimé to Seligna, (probably Browne's Lighen) four days, from Monjerone five days, and from Monjerone to Darfour nine days.

The costumes of the men here differ, in a very slight degree, from those of the Egyptian peasants. Their dress is generally more simple, not having so much of fantasia, as the Arabs call it, consisting almost always of a brown woollen gown, unbound at the waist, and a white cotton skull-cap. Very few have tarboushes, and only the sheakhs and rich men indulge their taste in turbans.

The women are not obliged to cover their faces; and it is rarely that an excess of modesty induces them to conceal their beauty, even when earnestly gazed at. A man here thinks there is no danger if his neighbour admires, and feels no uneasiness if the whole town sees his wife's good looks. Love and friendship are the only locks on his harem door: and although the wealthy

often excite the jealousy and anger of their first choice by afterwards taking a second, who may be younger and prettier, yet they seldom distress themselves with doubting their fidelity; and it is said that this confidence is rarely misplaced.

The dress of the women consists of one long robe, but they are more profusely decorated with ornaments than the women of the Nile, and decidedly better looking, their pale complexions giving them a more interesting appearance: their features, also, are more regular, and their expression more engaging. Some of the ornaments which they wear are very costly, such as ear-rings of gold. I observed also rings, of the same metal and of a larger size, hanging from their noses; and many of them had necklaces and bracelets, of which there was no disputing the value, being in fact strings of gold and silver coin now current in the East. But what attracted particularly my attention was the very curious manner in which their necklaces, and various parts of their dress, were frequently embroidered with shells; the garments of the little children were often very taste-

fully and beautifully ornamented in the same manner.

The women here enjoy a greater influence in society, and are much more respected than in the valley of the Nile; indeed, as far as I was able to learn, they almost seem (if such a state of things be possible in a Mahometan country) to lord it over their husbands; for most money and mercantile transactions are confided to their management. Our servants were obliged to apply to them for every article that they required. They complained most bitterly that the females were very sharp in making bargains; and to judge from their prices, compared with those in Egypt, they certainly turn their scanty knowledge of arithmetic to good account. During my long sojourn in this Oasis I took considerable pains to obtain an exact statement of the population; but as the statistical accounts of the Arabs can never be implicitly relied on, it is only by asking a variety of questions; such as, "How many men are there capable of bearing arms?" "How many old men, children?" &c. "Are there more people in this town than in the other?" &c., that any approximation to the truth can be arrived at. This is, how-

ever, the result of my inquiries here and elsewhere :—

	Men.	Popu- lation.
The metropolis el Khargeh, the most north- ern town of the Oasis	600	3000
Genah, south of and separated from el Khargeh by a desert 7 miles in extent	50	250
Boulak, South by East of Genah, across a desert of 14 miles in extent	50	250
Byrese, South by East of Boulak, across a desert 33 miles in extent	120	600
Doosh, South by East of Boulak, across a desert of 7 miles in extent	20	100
Maks, south west of Doosh, across a desert 4 miles in extent	20	100
	860	4300
	—	—

The total population, therefore, of the Oasis, is about 4,300 ; five to each family may seem a low valuation, but it must be considered that in the number of men there are many old persons, whose sons are grown up and reckoned among the number. I must not conclude my account of the metropolis without mentioning the beautiful baskets and mats, for which the place is celebrated. Some of the former are small and of elegant shape ; and the neatness of the plaiting, and the arrangement and harmony of the

colours, prove that the inhabitants of the Oasis, although uncultivated, are not destitute of natural taste ; otherwise they could not have the skill and ingenuity to devise these works of art, which must be admired even by the most fastidious.

## CHAP. VI.

**PICTURESQUE SITUATION OF THE TEMPLE OF EL KHAR-  
GEH.—RESIDENCE THERE.—VISITS FROM THE INHABIT-  
ANTS.—GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.—ESCAPE FROM WOLVES.  
—DESCRIPTION OF THE ARCHITECTURE.—ARAB LAW-  
SUIT.—NAME OF DARIUS IN HIEROGLYPHICS.—OVER-  
WHELMING EFFECT OF THE DESERT.—HISTORICAL  
AND MYTHOLOGICAL TABLETS.**

*From the 20th Oct. until the 3rd of Nov.* — Temple of el Khargeh. We left the town of el Khargeh at two o'clock, and in two hours we arrived at the principal temple in the Oasis, situated about six miles to the north of the metropolis.

Notwithstanding the descriptions I had previously read of this interesting ruin in the journals of other travellers, I must state, that I was agreeably surprised to find such magnificent vestiges of civilisation ; so splendid a monument of art in so remote and isolated a region.

This temple is not simply worthy of attention for its architecture ; the interesting sculptures

and hieroglyphical inscriptions with which it is adorned ; these attractions, which are sufficient for the mere antiquarian, are considerably enhanced by its picturesque, and, I may almost say, lovely situation.

The temples of the valley of the Nile, though more magnificent and more interesting as works of art, are rarely so beautifully situated. No dirty Arab village or cottages detract from the appearance of this ancient fane, or break that spell which the solitude of a ruin naturally excites. It is shaded by graceful palms, a fine fig sycamore, and still more picturesque doum trees ; in addition, a little stream gurgles close to the ruins ; and the effect of this pleasing situation is rendered still more striking by the contrast of the yellow expanse, the surrounding waterless ocean, which had now become so wearisome to me. It is just such a place as the Oriental, who cared not either for ancient or modern art, would nevertheless select to repose in, as it supplies the great necessities and enjoyments in these climes, shade, water, and pasture. It may be conceived, then, what pleasure we experienced at finding a temple,

in every respect so interesting, situated in a spot so lavishly adorned by nature. I remained a fortnight among these ruins, not only working from the rising of the sun until twilight, but often also engaged at night, in copying the hieroglyphical inscriptions along the dark recesses of the temple, where indeed lights, even by day, were necessary. During which time, we were frequently visited by the sheakh of el Khargeh, and had also opportunities of seeing many of the peasants, who gave us information not only concerning this but also the other Oases. According to their description, el Dakkel, three days' journey to the west, is richer and more populous than the valley of el Wah; but, as it does not contain many antiquities, we shall not go thither.

We procured a supply of meat and fowls from the metropolis, the inhabitants of which also furnished us with milk. There are few sheep kept in the Oasis, as it affords little pasture; butchers' meat is therefore twice as dear as at Thebes. Our camels found pasture on the trees and in the plain, but not sufficient to keep them in good order; on the contrary, I observed that their condition daily became worse, and we were

at last obliged to compel their owners to treat them better, ourselves buying grain and deducting the sum from what we owed them. The camel-men were indeed very well satisfied with our staying in the place, for they were at leisure to sleep the greatest part of the day, as well as during the night, and received four piasters per day for each animal. I will now give the reader a full description of these interesting antiquities:

The great temple consists of a sekos, with a vestibule before it, and three pylons or gateways. It faces about five degrees to the north of east. The total length of the ruin is about 500 feet, but the pylons are small, and a considerable distance apart from each other.

Plate 2. is a view of the first or most easterly pylons; but I should state, that 26 feet to the east of it, are the traces of what appears to have been a court, twenty-eight feet square, which, from the fragments still existing, seems to have been ornamented with columns.

On the portion remaining of the North side of the first propylon, is a Greek inscription, of sixty-six lines, which was copied by Mr. Calliaud and by Mr. Hyde, and was restored and pub-



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lished by Dr. Young and also by Monsieur Letronne. It is a decree, issued in the second year of the emperor Galba, relating not merely to the Oasis, but to the whole of Egypt. It appears that complaints had been made by, and petitions received from, the people concerning their grievances. The decree ordains, that persons, without experience and against their inclination, shall not be obliged to farm the revenues. It professes to regulate the imports better, to prevent imprisonment for debt, preserve the dowries of women, and limit the office of Stratego to three years, &c.

As I conceived it possible that another copy might afford some variations, I devoted a considerable portion of two days to the labour of deciphering the original. I am glad to find, that my copy justifies many of Dr. Young's restorations, and confirms most of Monsieur Letronne's various readings. I have, therefore, in the Appendix, published it in uncial letters, exactly as it appears on the ruin.

While engaged by night in taking down a particular portion of this interesting inscription, I had a little adventure with certain inhabitants of the Oasis, which might have proved serious.

I heard, apparently at some distance, the howling of wolves, jackals, &c., but I continued my occupation without regarding it, such music, from my long residence in Egypt, however displeasing, having become quite familiar. The howling at last ceased, and in a few minutes I heard a great rustling among the brambles immediately behind me. My servant, who was with me, screamed, "iggeree, Effende, iggeree;" (run, Effende, run.) "Follow me," I said; and in a moment we cleared the enclosure, and scaled the propylon, although in effecting this I bruised myself so severely that I felt the pain for some weeks after.

When we had safely regained our tent, my servant swore that he saw several hyenas, wolves, and jackals; but, like Falstaff in the narrative of his robbery, he increased the number of the thieves every time that he told the tale. It is certain, however, from their approaching so near, and from their loud howling, that there must have been many, and that their intention was to attack us; and as I had no other weapon with me than a pencil (a very innocuous one against irrational creatures), I felt happy in reaching a place of security.

On the southern portion of the first propylon, are other Greek inscriptions (see Appendix C and F), which I also carefully copied; one of which is a decree, among other matters, prohibiting the officers of the Government from oppressing the people, and from obliging the inhabitants of the different districts to entertain them indiscriminately when travelling, like the Turks of the present day. These inscriptions are more defaced than the former.

The width of this pylon or gateway is 25 ft. 8 in. the length, 23 ft. 8 in. Between it and the court or gateway already mentioned, are the remains of an avenue of sphinxes. Their pedestals alone now exist, each measuring 6 ft. 3 in. in length, and 2 ft. 9 in. in breadth. From the pylon with the Greek inscription, which I will call the first, to the second pylon is 47 feet; and these have evidently been also connected by an avenue of sphinxes. The pedestals of seven are still remaining, about 7 ft. 6 in. long, and 2 ft. 6 in. broad; and from their situation I concluded, that there had been originally five on each side.

The second pylon is 22 ft. 6 in. long, and 23 ft. 10 in. wide. One side is entirely in ruins, but the other is remaining as may be seen in plate

No. 2. ornamented with the Egyptian beading and cornice. I observed upon some of the stones on the north side (see same plate), fragments of Greek inscriptions ; but as they were all thrown in confusion, and some were broken, I did not attempt to copy them.

These two pylons are now inclosed within the gardens or date plantations of the peasants ; and the fences of these are formed of the dried branches and leaves of the palm tree, which are nearly as serviceable for that purpose, as the aloe or prickly pear ; for, except in endeavouring to escape from wolves and hyenas, no one would attempt to penetrate them.

Whilst engaged in drawing these propylons, I was amused at witnessing a long altercation or rather trial, which took place within a few yards from where I was sitting. One peasant accused another of having inclosed more ground than he had a right to, and the plaintiff brought forward a witness to prove the fact. The judge, a sheakh of el Khargeh, was deciding the affair on the spot, indubitably in this instance, the very best court of justice. The peasants were their own advocates, and from their fluency of language, earnestness and energy, they did not

seem to want assistance. The sheakh listened very attentively and impartially to the discourses of both, examined the ground himself, detected with great acuteness an inaccuracy in one of the statements of the defendant, and after about an hour's display of forensic eloquence, pronounced judgment on the affair with great coolness. The defendant submitted to his decision, and knocked down the fence resignedly, if not contentedly.

The third pylon is 139 feet distant from the second. This great space, so very disproportioned to the size of the temple, was probably inclosed with a wall; and I found some stones which strengthened the opinion. This pylon is precisely of the same form as the others, but is fortunately better preserved, as will be seen in plate 3.\*; which view not only represents most picturesquely the exterior of the temple, but is also very descriptive of the surrounding scenery. The doum tree in the foreground, is one of the most beautiful of its kind. The vestibule and façade of the temple, and behind the latter a detached building, are shown, and in the distance, to the west of the

\* See frontispiece.



ruins is our encampment ; but the principal feature in the view is the third pylon, which is 18 ft. 7 in. long, and 20 ft. 6 in. broad. The cornice is ornamented with the winged globe ; and the eastern façade, and also the interior of the propylon, are decorated with sculpture. The Persian king Darius is represented presenting offerings to Amun, Osiris, Isis, divinities with the head-dress of two feathers, globe, and serpents ; two feathers simply ; plain helmet ; hawk's head with a plain helmet ; vulture, globe and horns ; globe containing a serpent.

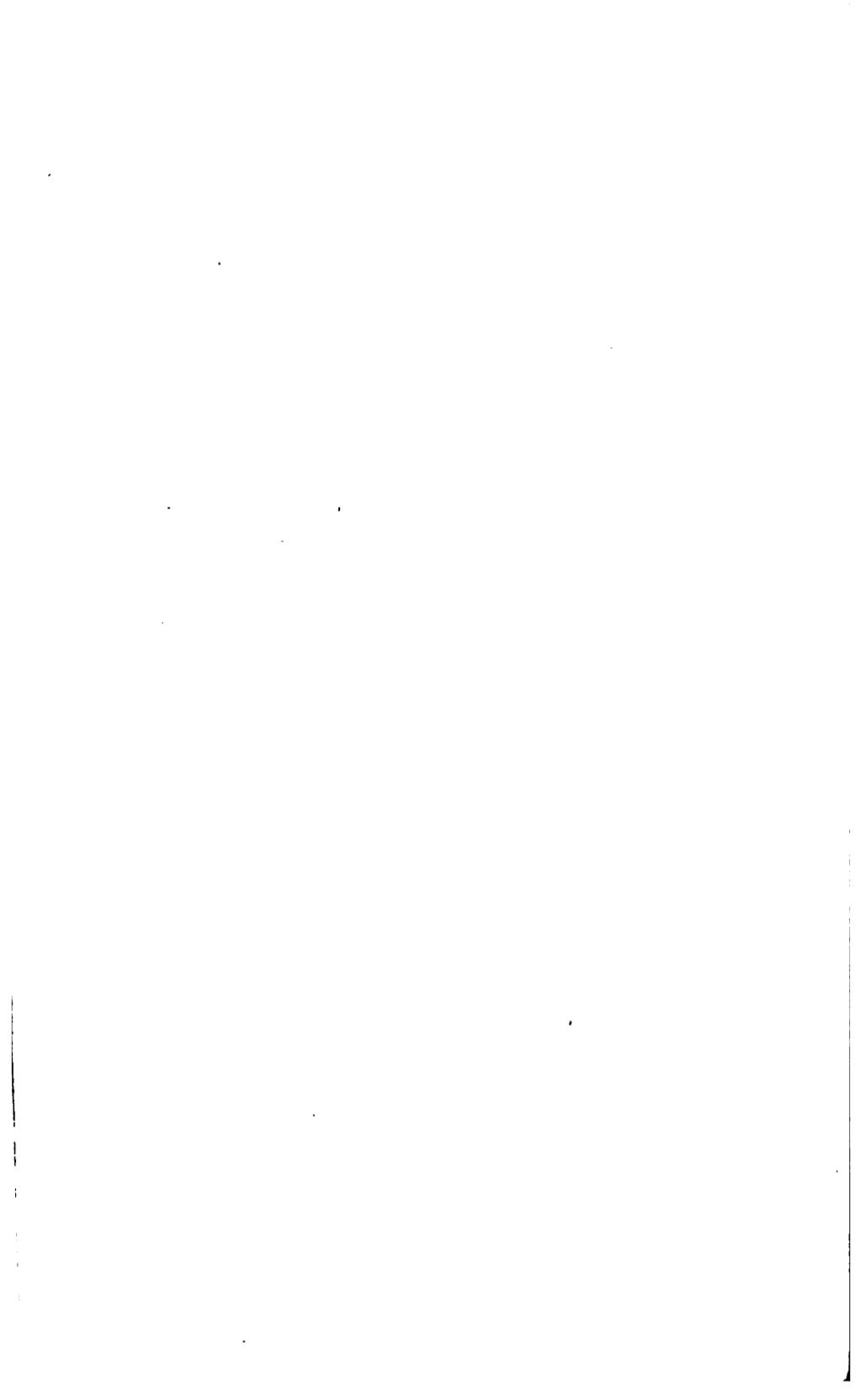
On one side of the interior of the pylon, Darius is represented making offerings to Osiris and Isis, and on the other to Amun Ra. Amun seems to be the divinity to whom the temple was peculiarly dedicated. The west side of this pylon is not adorned with sculpture ; but the cornice, as may be seen in plate 3., is richly decorated with the globe, serpents, and wings. Twenty-five feet from this propylon is a vestibule, of which a considerable portion still remains (see plate 4.) It appears to have been 55 feet long and 35 broad. Besides the entrance opposite the propylons, there was also one on each side ; and, as will be seen in the

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TEMPLE OF EL KHARREH.

From a drawing by G. A. Hoskins Esq.





plate, they were all decorated with rich cornices, sculpture, and hieroglyphics. Amun Ra with the attributes of Horus, a hawk's head, globe, and two serpents, is represented receiving into the temple the King Amyrtæus with a plain mitre. According to Manetho, Amyrtæus was the only king of the 28th dynasty, which succeeded to the Persians; and he is most probably the Inaro of Diodorus and Thucydides. Signor Rosellini interprets the name of this king which he saw at Karnak, Amihort, the conqueror of the country of Heb, and Mr. Wilkinson calls him Aomahate, neither of them very unlike the Amyrtæus of Manetho. I find that there is a difference between the hieroglyphics as given by Mr. Wilkinson and Signor Rosellini: the name, however, which I copied, agrees exactly with that of Mr. W. That this is not the name of an older king than Darius, is proved by the circumstance of its being the name of the king, who continued the ornamenting of the temple built by Darius. Signor Rosellini with his usual candour confesses, that his deciphering of the above name is less fortunate and less to be depended upon, than of the names generally of Egyptian kings; but

whether this be the title of the immediate successor of Darius Nothus, as Mr. W. and Signor R. suppose, is of little importance as to the date of the addition to the edifice ; for, as it was undoubtedly built after the 27th, and before the 31st, dynasty of Persians, the date of its construction is necessarily confined between the periods 414 and 340 before Christ.

The sekos or body of the temple is 140 feet long. Besides the principal entrance facing the east, there are four doors on the north side leading into the interior.

With the exception of the façade, which has never been finished, the whole of the exterior of this imposing structure is covered with sculpture, which however, is not particularly interesting, being merely representations of offerings to the divinities. The style of the sculpture is by no means good, being extremely bulky and clumsily executed. I observed on the south side of the edifice, a representation of a giraffe. Forty-three feet to the south of the west end of the temple, is a small detached building, which was probably the habitation of the priests. A doorway, 7 ft. wide and 4 ft. 8 in. deep, leads into a room about 17 feet long

and about 8 ft. wide, ornamented at the angles with columns, 3 feet in diameter, partly inclosed in the walls. Behind the sekos is another detached building, which has rather the appearance of having been a cistern to contain water for the use of the temple.

Having described the exterior of the temple, I will now give the reader an account of the interior, which is not only picturesque, but highly interesting, from its containing some very curious sculpture. Plate 5. is a representation of the present state of the interior. I could have wished to have given it in colours, as the original presents one of the most extraordinary and imposing examples of the overwhelming powers of the vast Libyan ocean. As will be seen in the view, the sand on the north side of the interior of the temple, reaches up to the capitals of the columns. The left or south side of the interior is more clear of the sand, which has drifted over the wall and formed a vast mound, reaching up to the cornice of the exterior of the building. These two accumulations of sand prove, that the wind and storms must be almost invariably from the north, both of them being protected from that pre-

vailing wind : one of them in the interior, and the other in the exterior. The effect of the columns rising above the hill of sand, the vast architraves, the graceful palms, a fine sunt tree, and in the distance, the yellow ocean and blue hills, make an interesting view.

Some Christian or pagan anchorites seem to have established themselves on the top of the temple : a fragment of one of their brick habitations will be observed in the plate. I remarked that the cornice near it is very much worn, evidently by a rope or chain, which may have been used to raise some heavy weight, probably water, or perhaps, as at the convent of Mount Sinai, the inhabitants hoisted up each other in a basket.

The reddish sandstone, of which the temple is built, is not of a very hard composition ; but these anchorites must nevertheless have been long resident in the situation, as it would require a very considerable time for either a rope or chain to make so deep an indenture as is impressed in the cornice.

On the south side of the doorway leading into the interior, are two dark rooms, the one above the other, 17 feet wide, and 8 feet long ; pro-

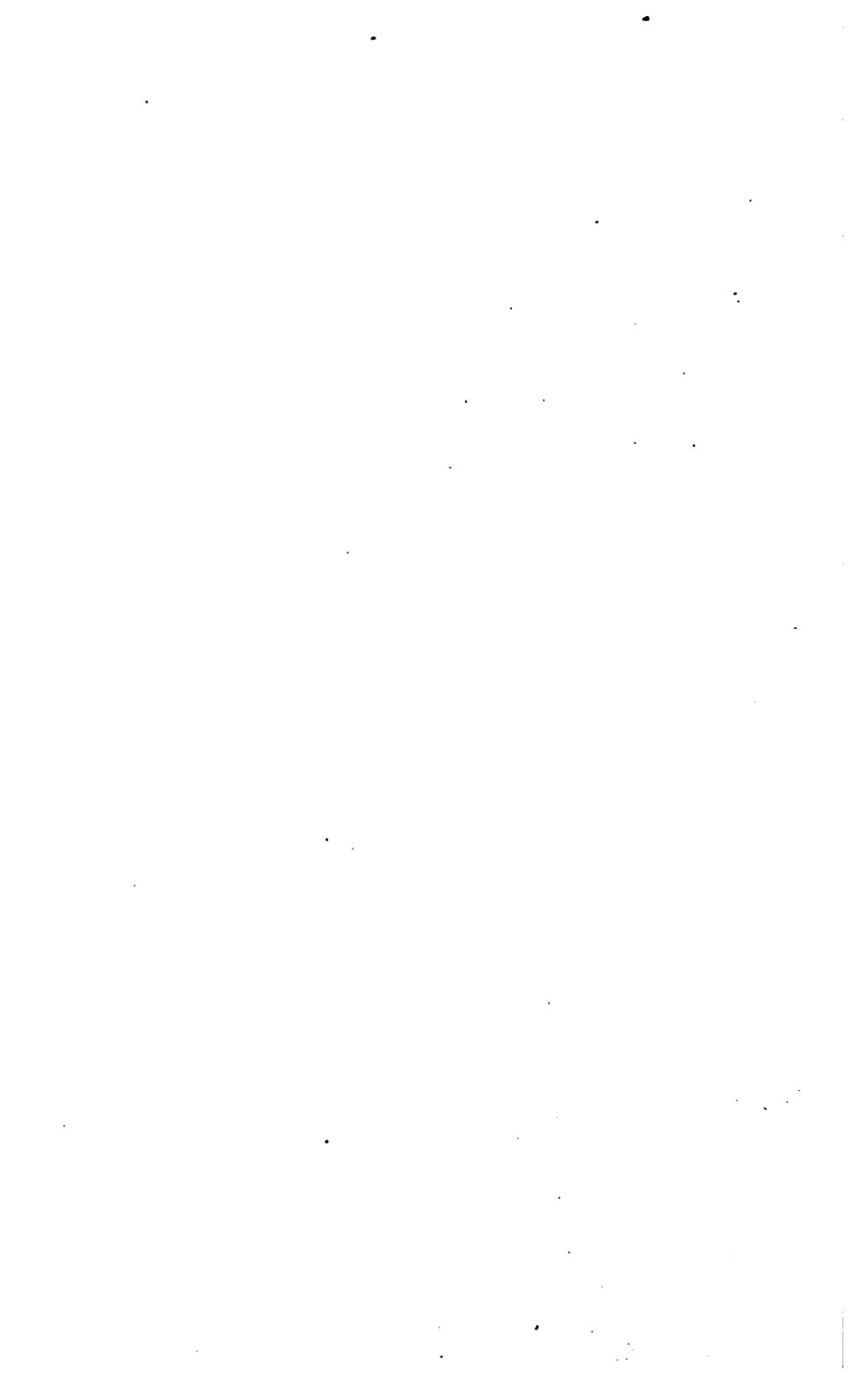
Drawn & engraved by H. H. V. & Son.

INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF TEL KHAZIEN.

London: Longman & Co., 1857.



G. & J. Bent's Figs. del. A. F. & Son, engr.



bably habitations of the officers or guardians of the temple.

The portico, or first room of the interior, is 51 ft. 6 in. wide. It was adorned with eight columns, which, however, have never been finished. Some of their outlines are complete; but the interior ornamental part of most of the capitals has not been commenced.

The south side of the portico is ornamented with sculpture, representing the King Darius making offerings to Osiris and Isis. There are also some representations of divinities with the heads of fish and serpents: the former gods, the latter goddesses. They are each repeated three several times, but with different hieroglyphics; the god or goddess having each time the same name, differing only in the signs determinative of the sex.

I have made a drawing of them. Darius is also represented in this room making offerings to Amun Ra, wearing the head-dress of a cap and two long feathers. Besides the sculpture, there is a very large tablet of hieroglyphics, containing, four times repeated, the phonetic name of Darius, with the titles of son of Pharaoh, son of Isis, son of Osiris, beloved of

Amun. Could tablets of hieroglyphics be deciphered with the same facility as Greek or Latin inscriptions, I would publish the copy which I made of this tablet, since it is scarcely probable that so long an inscription can be destitute of information. If the mists and darkness which impede hieroglyphical research shall be ever cleared away, and if the light of science shall ever penetrate all this mystery of antiquarian lore, what extraordinary and interesting relations may, perhaps, be unfolded to us; how many facts added to the pages of history; and what perplexing mythological and metaphysical subtleties elucidated!

The north side of this portico is, doubtless, ornamented with sculpture, and perhaps historical tablets of hieroglyphics; but I did not attempt to remove the sand, as the labour would be enormous to clear away so vast a mound, and we conceived it more useful to excavate in the sanctuaries. The doorway 10 ft. 8 in. wide, leading into the second room, is almost covered with sand. Part of the cornice, however, is still visible, painted in the usual manner with red, blue, and green stripes: the colours are quite fresh. The second room

is ornamented with eight columns, 3 ft. 4 in. in diameter; four of which are built in the wall of its façade. The ornamental part of the capitals of these columns is not completed; some are finished on one side only.

A doorway 6 ft. 10 in. wide, and 4 ft. 9 in. long leads into the third room, which is 28 ft. 4 in. long and 37 ft. wide. This room is ornamented with sculpture, chiefly of offerings. I copied a small tablet of hieroglyphics with sculpture underneath, representing four divinities with the heads of hawks, pouring libations.

A door 4 ft. wide, leads from this room into the sanctuary, which is 8 ft. long, and the same in width. A doorway 4 ft. 8 in. wide, and 1 ft. long, leads into the inner sanctuary, which is of the same width as the other, but only 7 ft. long. *The* ancient name of the town this temple belonged to was, according to Mr. Wilkinson, *Hebé* "the plough," under which character it is frequently designated in the hieroglyphics.

## CHAP. VII.

DISCOVERY OF EXTRAORDINARY SCULPTURE IN THE SANCTUARIES. — MANNER OF MAKING PAPER CASTS OF SCULPTURE. — DISCOVERIES IN HIEROGLYPHICS. — CHAMPOLLION. — INTERESTING TABLET OF SCULPTURE. — REMARKS ON THE ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE OF THE TEMPLE. — MONUMENTAL EVIDENCE THAT THE OASIS MUST FORMERLY HAVE BEEN MORE FLOURISHING.

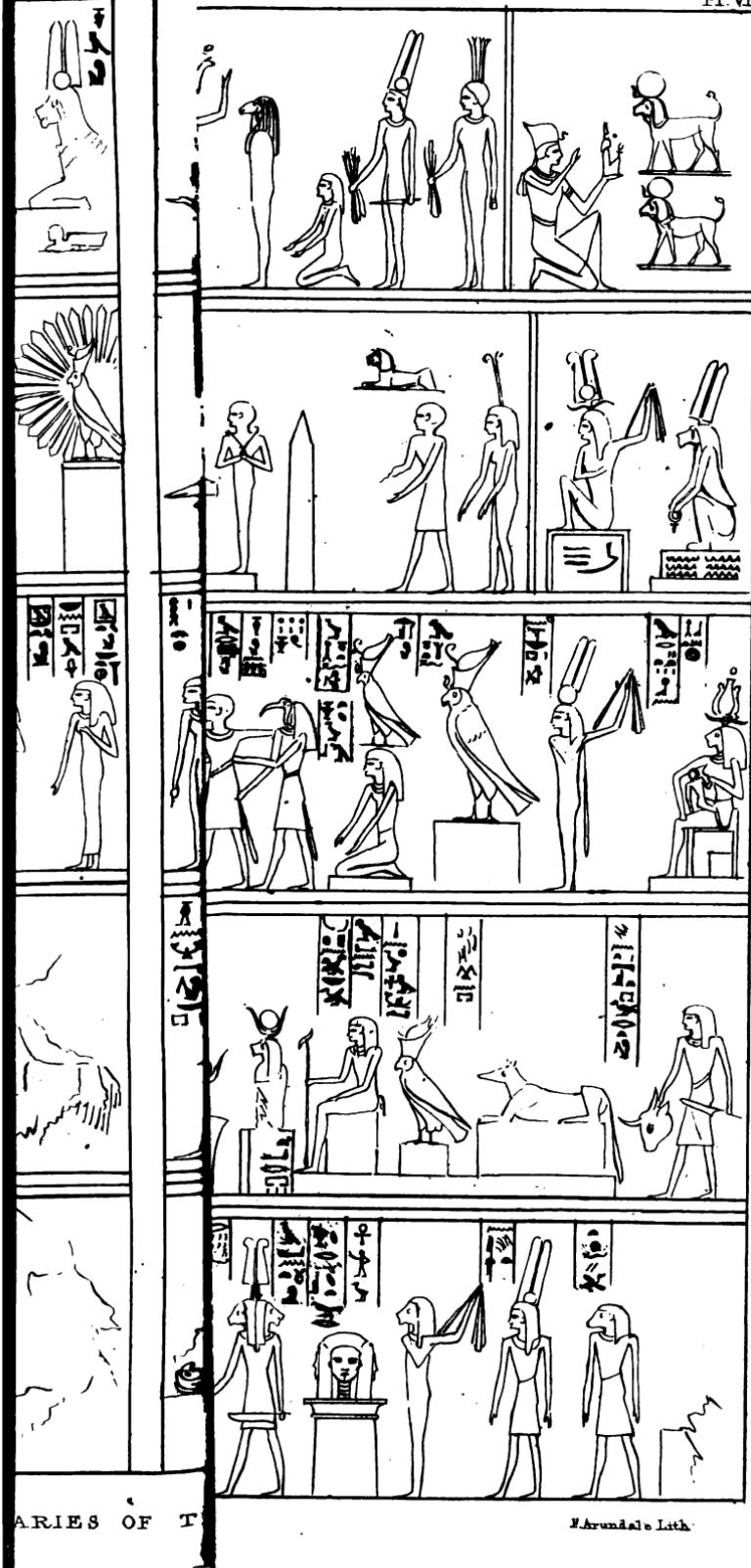
THE two sanctuaries originally formed one room, the division between them being evidently more recent, and breaking the connection of the curious sculpture with which the walls are adorned. The roof of the sanctuary is formed of very large masses of stone. We found these sanctuaries, like the other rooms, filled with sand. I first noticed the sculpture in this place; and perceiving at once, that it was exceedingly curious and uncommon, I proposed to Mr. Hay to clear out the sand, which we accomplished to a considerable extent, having without much difficulty, procured labourers from the village. As the rooms were

quite dark, it was the same whether we worked there during the night or the day. The night before we left el Khargeh, I was there until three in the morning, and Mr. Hay remained in the place until breakfast. It is necessary to have experienced how great is the toil of drawing all day under a tropical sun, to estimate duly what it cost us, to undergo the additional fatigue of drawing by night also; and it is necessary to be an antiquarian, and feel a keen interest in the subject, to excuse our risking health and life in this deleterious climate by such exertions. We were not, however, I can say confidently, actuated by a mere selfish desire of possessing drawings, but by an earnest anxiety to convey to our country, what seemed to us an inestimable addition to the very many curious tablets, which the temples and tombs of Egypt have contributed towards our better knowledge of the manners and arts of the ancients. My servants made me casts in paper of the sculpture on the walls of these two rooms, that is, of all the sculpture in the three large plates, which I now publish. This method of obtaining fac-similes of sculpture in basso relievo, is very successful, and so easy that I

had no difficulty in teaching it to my Arabs. I found stiff, unsized, common white paper to be best adapted for the purpose. It should be well damped ; and, when applied to sculpture still retaining its colour, not to injure the latter, care should be taken that the side of the paper placed on the figures be dry — that it be not the side which has been sponged. The paper, when applied to the sculpture, should be evenly patted with a napkin folded rather stiffly ; and, if any part of the figures or hieroglyphics be in intaglio or elaborately worked, it is better to press the paper over that part with the fingers. Five minutes is quite sufficient time to make a cast of this description : when taken off the wall, it should be laid on the ground or sand to dry. I possess many hundred casts, which my Arabs made for me at Thebes and in the Oasis. Indeed, I very rarely made any drawings of sculpture, without having a cast of the same : and as the latter are now quite as fresh as on the day they were taken, the engraver having not only my drawing, but also these indubitable fac-similes, is enabled to make my plates exactly like, and quite equal to, the original.

The Arabs are extremely clever in the art of







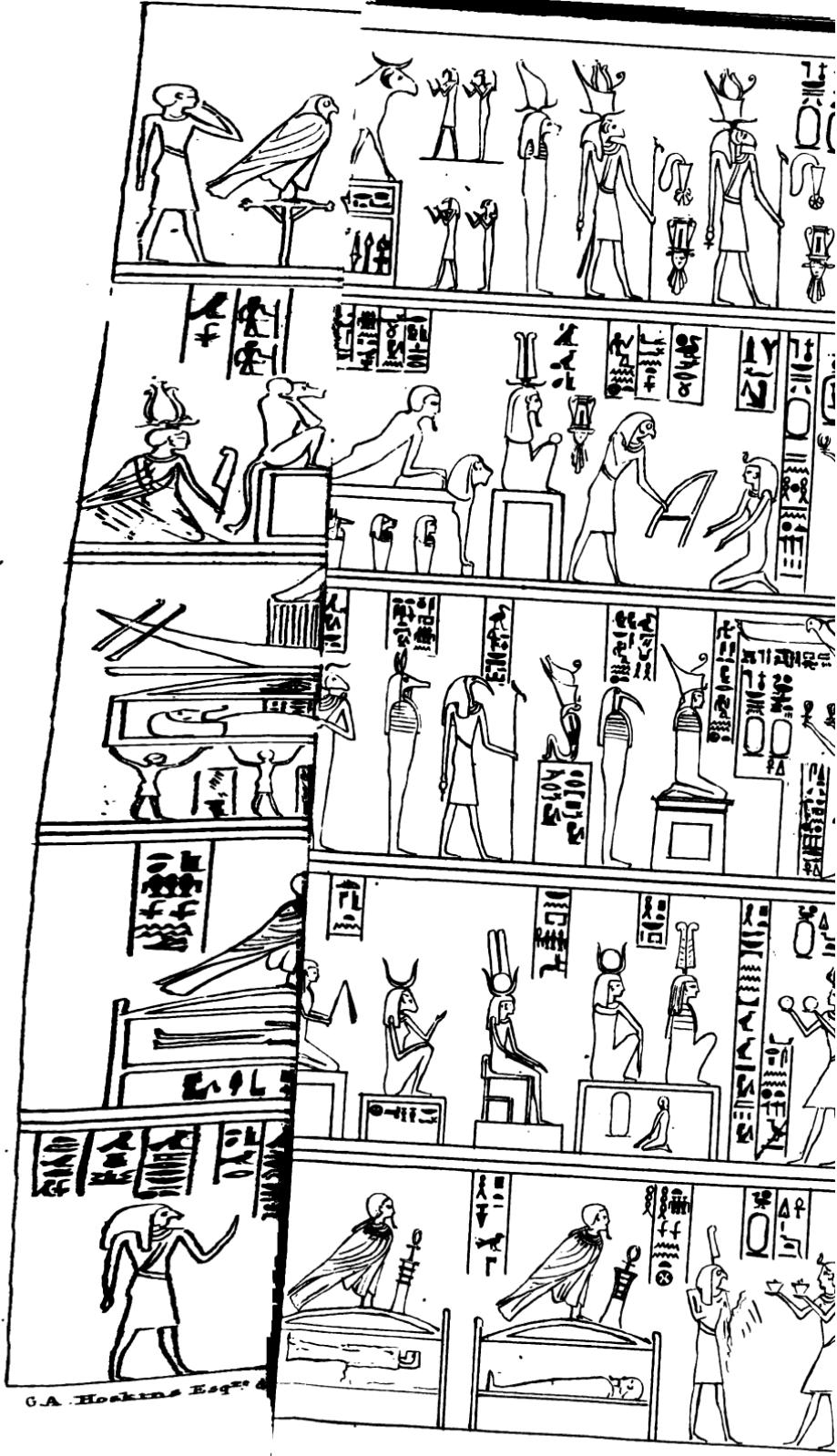
imitating ; and the boys are so very sharp and intelligent, that, if I were about to spend another eighteen months among the antiquities of the Nile, I should certainly endeavour to teach two or three of them to draw with the camera lucida. I feel persuaded, that in a very short space of time, they would be able to take accurate outlines.

Plates 6, 7, 8. are a complete representation of the extraordinary sculpture in the above-mentioned sanctuaries. I do not conceive that even the most learned in reading of hieroglyphics will hesitate to confess, that the mythological mysteries there depicted are beyond their comprehension. This extraordinary assemblage of divinities in the most grotesque attitudes, of animals, beasts, and birds, is not, I am persuaded, a fanciful composition of an eccentric artist. We may be certain, that there is a meaning in all these representations and figures ; and as they could have had no beneficial moral influence on the minds of the multitude, some metaphysical mystery is evidently represented.

The discoveries in hieroglyphics have, I fear, been, perhaps, exaggerated ; yet such as have

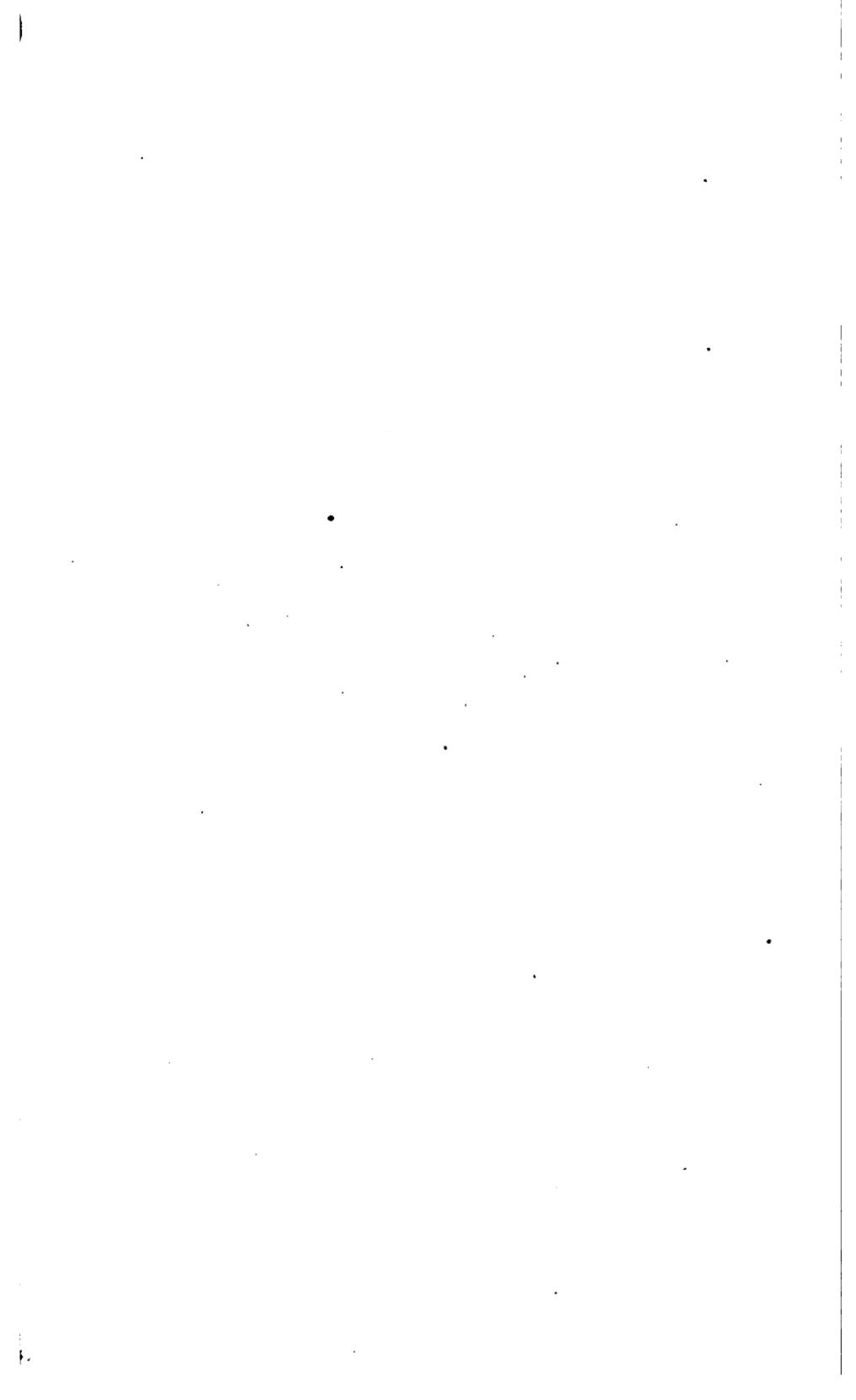
undoubtedly been accomplished are of the highest importance. The deciphering the names of kings has been of the greatest service to the elucidation of history ; and I cannot conceive it possible for any person who has studied the subject in the country to be sceptical concerning the general principles of the theory. The interpretation of the various names has given us a nearer approximation to the exact date of the construction of almost each portion of the various edifices.

It is very true, that some of the names, and the order of their succession as derived from lapidary inscriptions, vary occasionally from the lists of Manetho ; but an allowance ought certainly to be made for the differences of language, and idiom, and the lapse of nearly 4000 years, through which the historical documents in the tombs and temples, have nevertheless been preserved to us. The lists of kings on the edifices are no forgeries of a more modern date, for succeeding generations were never able to execute hieroglyphics in the same spirited and beautiful manner. One of Rameses' sculptors must have risen from his tomb, to have enabled a Ptolemy or a Cæsar to execute hieroglyphics



G.A. Hodges Esq.

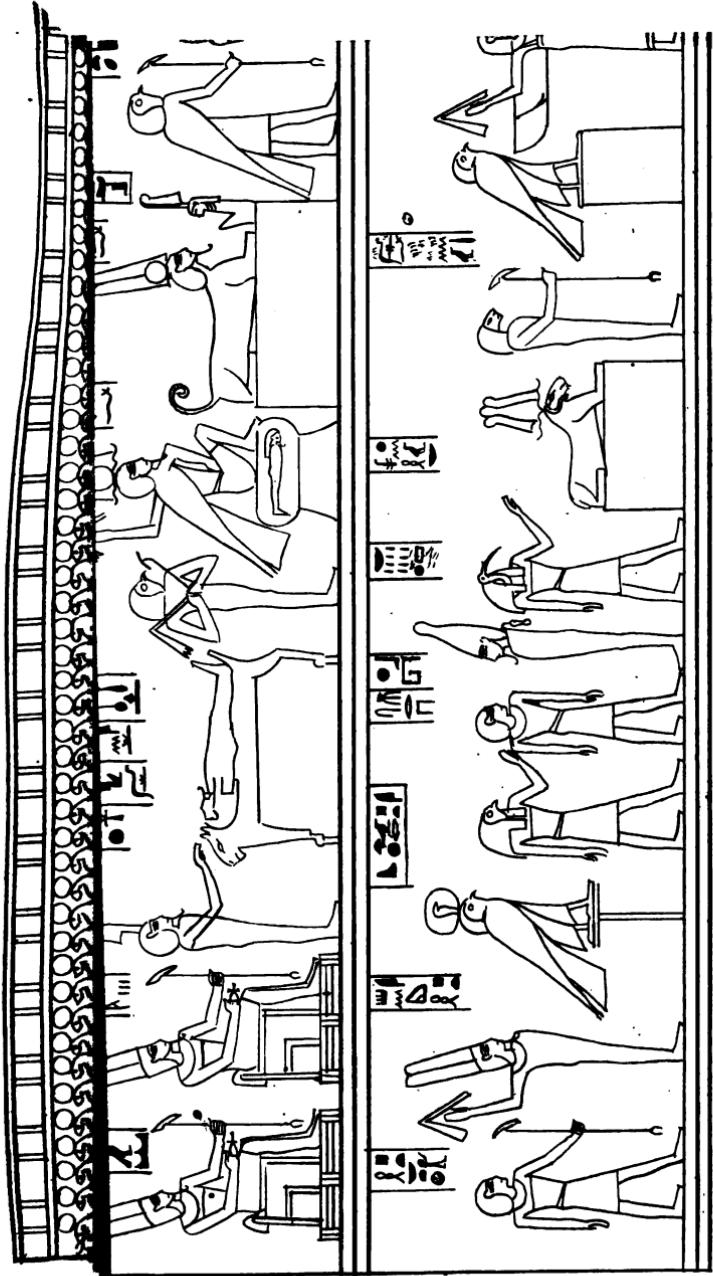
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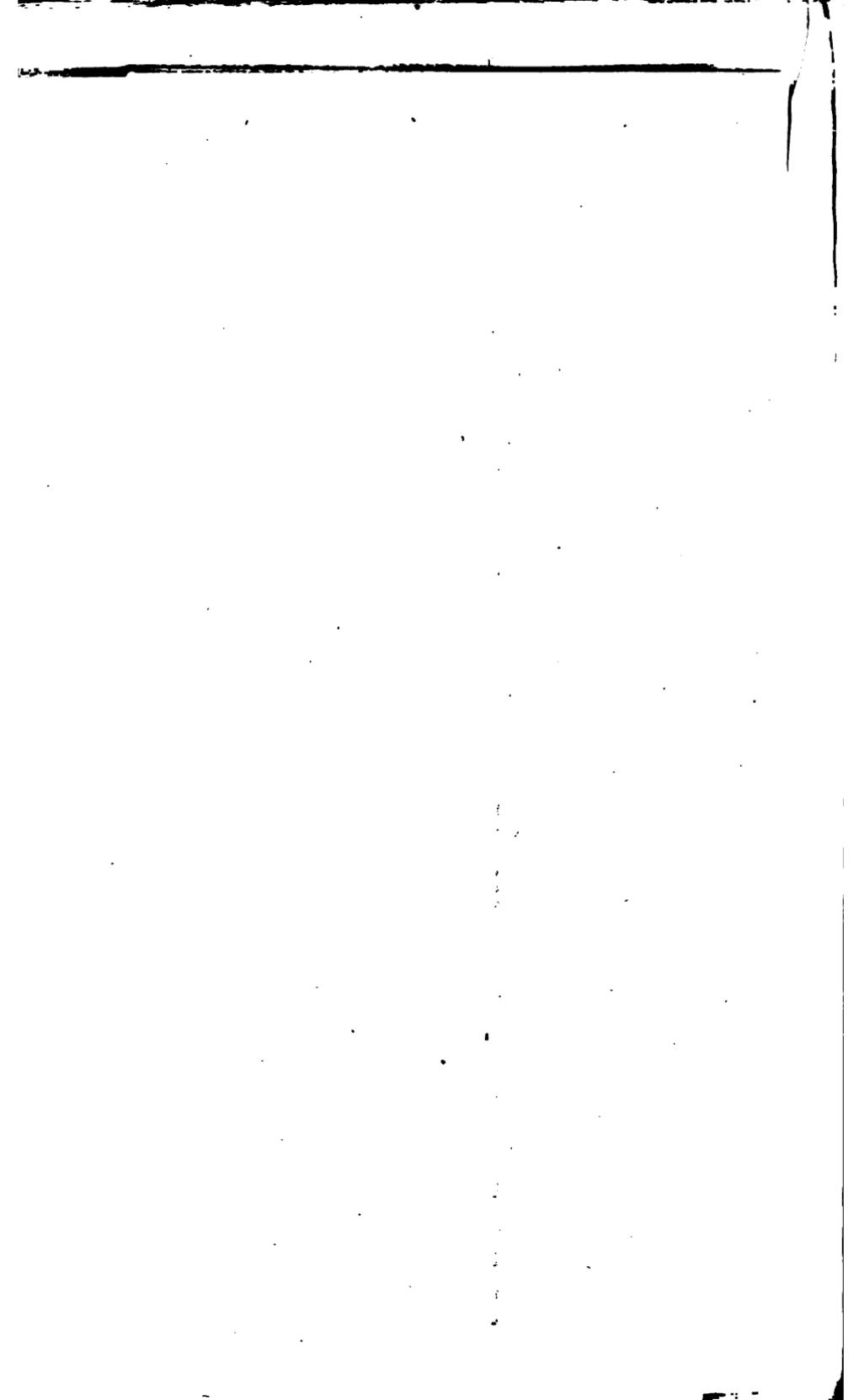
in the inimitable style peculiar to the era of that ancient and illustrious monarch.

The changes in the execution of the sculptures, the gradual rise, or rather I should say, the decadence of the art (since the most ancient are generally the most exquisitely executed) prove the truth of the theory ; for, without the dates assigned to the edifices, from the royal names which are found on them, any person, well acquainted with Egyptian art, or with the arts generally, if he had time carefully to examine them, would undoubtedly arrange them in the same order as regards their relative antiquity, as from hieroglyphics they are found to possess. The mistakes into which some travellers have fallen, in assigning erroneous dates to the different edifices, can only have arisen from their hasty survey and imperfect knowledge of the subject. How great an interest, for instance, is given to this edifice, from our finding on it the name of Darius ; proving by such undisputable evidence what history also informs us of, that he showed great deference and regard for the religion and happiness of his Egyptian subjects.

Besides the satisfaction of being now accurately acquainted with the name of the builder, restorer, and embellisher of almost every ancient wall in Egypt, and of being thus enabled to study the history, mythology, and state of the arts at so many distinctly ascertained periods ; hieroglyphics have also given us more precise notions of the divinities. It used to be the fashion for travellers to call all the different representations Osiris, Isis, or any other name which they had met with in Herodotus, Plutarch, or Diodorus, &c. But now, we know the appellations of most of the divinities ; and, although the metaphysical significations and compositions of the same can often only be guessed at, from the imperfect state of hieroglyphical knowledge, it is still gratifying to be able to read any portion of that once completely unintelligible language. A vast number of phrases is now, indeed, known to the students in hieroglyphics. They are able, not only to read the titles of the kings and queens, but also to decipher the names of trades, animals, prisoners, conquered nations, &c., and are thus in some measure acquainted with the wars and conquests of the different monarchs. They are also able



SCULPTURE IN THE SANCTUARIES OF THE TEMPLE OF E.I.



to read dates, and have thus learnt nearly the exact reign of many of the kings.

I am not now able to do such justice as I wish to the researches of many distinguished individuals still living, who by their great talents and persevering industry have promoted this department of science; but there is one, now dead, whom I cannot refrain from mentioning most respectfully. The name of Champollion has been loudly praised and vehemently abused. Every one must lament his attempt to persuade the world that he was the discoverer of the key to the knowledge of the hieroglyphical language; thus endeavouring to wrest from Dr. Young that honour, which crowned a life spent in literary and scientific labours. But, at the same time that we deny him the merit of being the first to find the right path, we must candidly state that he richly deserves the high distinction and the flattering homage which his talents and abilities have generally procured him.

Dr. Young found the track; Champollion perceived that it was the true one, and therefore determined to explore it as far as energy, perseverance, and ingenuity would carry him. His impetuosity was perhaps too great, as he

sometimes formed his opinion of objects before he had devoted sufficient time to examine them. I cannot then attempt to justify his setting forth the result of his early labours on so doubtful a subject in so decided and unhesitating a manner. But if the critics blame him for his boldness, and reproach him with having changed his opinions, they ought still to do justice to his candour, and acknowledge that there is no evidence of his having attempted to persist in any opinions when his progressive researches taught him that he was in error.

When we consider how wedded every man is to a belief which he may at any time have entertained, the mere circumstance of Champollion's forsaking some of his opinions ought not surely to tempt us to infer, that the subject for this sole reason is uncertain. Nothing less than entire conviction, and a love of truth rather than of glory, could have induced him to relinquish pre-conceived notions, and thus lay himself open to scepticism. Champollion has also been accused of carelessly looking at papyri and professing to explain them, without any previous study. Several instances, which have been related of this light manner, have startled some

people ; but what is the state of the case ? Champollion, on opening a papyrus, or on seeing a tablet, would, doubtless, observe at a single glance some phrases, the meaning and interpretation of which he had ascertained by his previous researches ; it is, therefore, obvious that he would be as able at first sight, to explain the signs that he was acquainted with, as after a long study ; the latter being only so far necessary, as it enabled him to find out the sense of other phrases, which further discoveries would of course be a work of great toil and labour. The hieroglyphics that were familiar to him in the tablet or papyrus, might be sufficient to give him some apprehension of the subject ; and, therefore, his prompt explanations, which have subjected him to so many charges of presumption, were often merely the results of the knowledge, which he had already acquired by long and severe investigations.

I conceive Champollion's success to be, in a great measure, attributable to his devoting himself entirely to this particular study. A path was opened out to him, and he abandoned himself to it with fondness, energy, and talent. His attention being unoccupied by other pursuits,

he was enabled to devote the whole of his time to the great object which he had in view: and so extensive have been his services to the cause of literature, that we should be both illiberal and unjust to withhold from him that homage, which he has so richly merited.

The plan of the other divisions of this temple was difficult to make out, being nearly full of sand.\* The sanctuaries, and the room before them, were flanked by other rooms, two of which were vaulted; and above these lateral chambers were apartments, the access to which was by two flights of stone steps, still remaining. I copied in one of these upper rooms an interesting piece of sculpture, containing a tablet of hieroglyphics and several curious figures, among which the delineation of a frog is remarkable.

To conclude the description of this temple, I must observe, that it is far more worthy of admiration for its highly picturesque and curious situation, shaded by palm trees, and with the in-

\* As none of the plans of the ruins are particularly curious, and as I think the reader will be fully enabled to understand their construction from the picturesque views, I have less regret in not being able to publish them.

hospitable desert, “ the image of immensity \*,” around it, than as a work of art. The architecture cannot be called good. In the number of small propylons, and in the great distance between them, forming a chain so far exceeding in length the body of the temple, and also in the small avenues of sphinxes, we may trace a miniature imitation of the grand temples at Thebes.

As I have before observed, the columns are almost all unfinished, and the sculpture is not good ; but when we consider the epoch when this edifice was constructed, the imperfection of the style is not surprising. Darius, chiefly on account of his respect for the popular superstitions, his piety, and his encouragement of the arts, was beloved by the people, and was the

\* Las Casas relates of Napoleon, that the desert had always a peculiar influence on his feelings ; that he had never crossed it without being subject to certain emotions ; that it seemed to him an image of immensity, as showing no boundaries, and as having neither beginning nor end ; that his imagination was always excited by the recollection of it ; and that he took pleasure, on such occasions, in drawing the attention of his attendants to the word Napoleon, as meaning The Lion of the Desert. — Las Casas, liv. viii. p. 62. Turner's Sacred History, l. xi. p. 147.

only one of the Persian dynasty, whose name was allowed to remain on their edifices. But we may reasonably conceive, that during the previous violent reign of Cambyses, the arts, long before on the decline, must have received so deep a wound, that centuries of fostering care and protection would be necessary before it could in any degree be healed. It is, therefore, not surprising to find architecture and sculpture of so early a date as the reign of Darius, and particularly in such a situation as the Oasis, less beautiful than that of some of the Ptolemaic temples; and especially as the latter were constructed at a period justly termed the second era of the arts in Egypt.

Nevertheless, when we consider the situation of this temple, and reflect on the fearful deserts that surround it; when we see with all its imperfections so imposing a monument of art in a country, which I could never have imagined that artists would have chosen for their residence, for there is little to study, as nature has here few attractions; we feel confident, that the cultivated land must in former times have been much more considerable than it is at the present day. For even supposing that the temple was

erected at the expense of the king or government of Egypt, still a population, that required not only this but so many other sacred and splendid edifices, of which the Oasis now contains the remains, must have possessed great resources, and have attained to a degree of opulence and luxury far exceeding the present state of its comparatively wretched and barbarous inhabitants.

## CHAP. VIII.

NECROPOLIS OF THE OASIS. — CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. — PRACTICE OF EMBALMING CONTINUED BY THE CHRISTIANS. — GREEK NAMES IN A CAVERN OF THE MOUNTAINS. — EGYPTIAN TOMB. — ROMAN TOMB. — SMALL TEMPLES. — DEPARTURE FROM EL KHARGEH. VILLAGE OF GENAH. — ATTACK OF OPHTHALMIA. — SUCCESSFUL REMEDY. — VILLAGE OF BOULAK.

HAVING described the principal temple of el Khargeh, I must now give an account of the objects of interest in its immediate vicinity.

## NECROPOLIS OF THE OASIS.

We perceived on a hill, a mile and a quarter due north from the temple, what appeared to us at a distance to be a dwelling-place of the living : but recollecting the descriptions of the travellers who visited this region before us, we were aware, that it must be the necropolis mentioned in their works. The distant view of this city of the dead

is very striking. The tombs, being built on the brow and summit of a hill, and rising gradually one above another, are almost all distinctly seen from every part of the plain; and, as some of them form streets, the place has quite the appearance of a well-built village.

Notwithstanding the descriptions which have been given, the stranger cannot visit the place without astonishment. We have at Pompeii a street of tombs, and at Rome we see the columbarj: and these buildings of the Oasis are certainly not to be compared to the splendid monuments of Adrian, Augustus, Caius Cestius, and Cecilia Metella, &c. But we have here what is still more extraordinary, though less beautiful as works of art:— 150 sepulchres, forming streets and squares, and well deserving the title of a necropolis. The hill, on which they are situated, has rather a volcanic appearance. The sand has drifted into the streets, but the height of the hill prevents the edifices being overwhelmed by the desert. The good state of preservation of them is another proof of the dryness of the climate. If the Oasis was visited with a few such winters as we have in England, the majority of them would soon be washed away.

The series of views which I have made, will, I trust, make the reader perfectly acquainted with their architecture. They are built of crude unbaked bricks, and consist almost invariably of one room, the average size of which is about 20 ft. by 15 ft. The interior of these rooms is generally ornamented with arches, forming recesses ; and between, or rather supporting the arches of the exterior of the tombs, are pilasters or columns, also of brick, and built in the wall, with a vile style of Doric or Corinthian capital. Some of the sepulchres are ornamented with domes : but the generality of them have flat roofs. In each tomb is a mummy-pit, from two to four feet square. All the pits appear to have been ransacked, perhaps by the Arabs, in the hope of plunder. The chambers are strewed with the linen folds of the mummies, consisting of that coarse description of cloth, which was generally used in Egypt for embalming persons of inferior rank : but we found some, in the best-constructed tombs, which was of superior texture, and which had also a purple border.

I made a distant view of the necropolis, which, however, I shall not give, as it was not taken from the most favourable point for exhibiting the

Das & Hagle. 111<sup>o</sup> to the King.

శాసనానికి తికార్యాల ప్రాంగణముల నుండి వెలువు వచ్చినటికిల్లా.

11. 1. 1875 A.D.





tombs; but I selected it, as the foreground represents one of the sources of the Oasis\*, shaded with a cluster of doum trees.

Plate 9. will give the reader a good idea of the streets which the sepulchres form. The architecture of the first tomb in this view is very elegant. The façade is ornamented with four pilasters, supporting circular arches: the doorway is under the centre arch. The side of the exterior of the tomb is adorned with six arches, supported in a similar manner. The second tomb in the view is more lofty, and perhaps still more elegant in its form. The exterior is decorated with one large semicircular arch at each end; and the sides are ornamented with high pillars.

Some of the tombs in the necropolis are more ruined; but the effect is often striking of the rows of sepulchres above each other. Another view I made represents a group of these sepul-

\* I am sorry to find it necessary to state, that I lost some of my notes of this journey, containing, among other things, the result of several comparisons I made with the thermometer, between the heat of the water in the sources and that of the atmosphere. I can now only state from memory, that two hours before sunset the water was many degrees warmer than the air.

chres. The façade of the principal one is adorned with five columns, built in the wall, and with one pilaster at each angle, supporting five circular arches. The capitals of the columns are now much injured ; but their order has evidently been intended to pass for Corinthian. The sides of some of the tombs are not always ornamented with arches.

Plate 10. is a view of one of these tombs, with a very elegant arched porch before the doorway. As will be seen in the plate, fragments are still visible of the cement, which anciently covered the whole of this sepulchre ; and which apparently, from the vestiges that are still existing, protected all the other tombs in the necropolis.

Another tomb I made a drawing of differs entirely from any of the others, being circular, and consisting of six open arches supporting a dome. The view from this point is very extensive over a trackless waste. On a hill in the extreme distance, a castle, containing a ruin, which I shall presently describe, was perceptible.

Plate 11. is a view of the principal edifice in the necropolis. It occupies the most conspicuous situation, and is imposing both from its size and architecture. The façade is ornamented



Day & Night - to the West.

WONDER AND TIME, MERCOPOLIS, XMAS '98, KARAKORUM.

G. A. Hartung Eng. & Co. Ltd.



with eleven columns, supporting ten semicircular arches. Under each arch is an aperture to admit the light, and a triangular niche, which has served perhaps to contain an image, or hold holy water, or intended for some other religious purpose.

Plate 12. is a drawing of the interior of this building. The roof, which has now partly fallen in, was supported by circular and square columns forming aisles. The cross, or Egyptian tau, which is visible in the drawing, and which I observed on several parts of this and some of the other edifices, and the general plan of the building, prove that it has been a Christian church; and, from the material of which it is built, and the similarity of the exterior decorations, and from its being undoubtedly of the same date as the other tombs, it may be inferred, that they are all Christian edifices, or at least, were built in an age when Christianity was much spread among the Romans. The Maltese cross, and the ceiling of a cupola over one of the tombs, which is covered with vile daubs of painting, representing St. George and other saints, must necessarily be Christian.

The circumstances, which prove that this is a

Christian necropolis, do not, however, detract from its interest: on the contrary, it is highly satisfactory that we have such indubitable evidence to enable us to establish the fact, that the custom of embalming the dead was continued by the first professors of the Gospel in Eastern Africa.

The introduction of Christianity produced great and sudden changes in the minds, habits, and customs of believers; but a length of time was no doubt often necessary to root out many of the prejudices of the people; and it is very possible, that the practice of embalming may have been continued as a necessary mark of respect to the dead, long after the doctrine had been entirely exploded, in accordance with which the custom had been originally established. This practice, however, even in the most ancient times, was not confined to the worshippers of Amun. The physicians of Egypt were forty days in embalming Jacob; and Joseph also was embalmed in Egypt.

Some of the tombs, as the reader will perceive from the views, possess even now a degree of elegance, that would any where be admired; and, when they were all perfect and covered



G. A. Hoskins Esq. & A. Parker Esq.

CAMP NEAR CROTOPOLIS NEAR EL KHAJOUR.

London, Longman & Co. 1837.

Drawn by Mr. H. F. to the Env.



with cement, the cemetery must have been beautiful. Great pains have evidently been devoted, not only to construct them well, but also to enhance the picturesque appearance of each sepulchre, and the general effect of the whole. Considering the material of which they are built, it is surprising that they have stood so well; but I observed that the brick work, in the formation of the arches especially, was very excellent.

This large city of tombs is a further proof of the opulence of the former inhabitants of these now arid regions. It is not without a certain feeling of melancholy, that man visits any cemetery; but as you ramble in these streets of sepulchres, where universal solitude and dreariness prevail, where the voice of a fellow creature is seldom heard, and where no track is visible but that of the timid gazelle or beasts of prey, and whence not a single habitation is to be seen except these last abodes evidently of rich individuals, you are tempted to ask, where were their habitations? Where was their city, once, perhaps, so joyous? Has the insatiable desert buried them with its waves, and is there

130. GREEK NAMES IN A MOUNTAIN CAVERN.

now nought remaining but their temples and  
their graves?

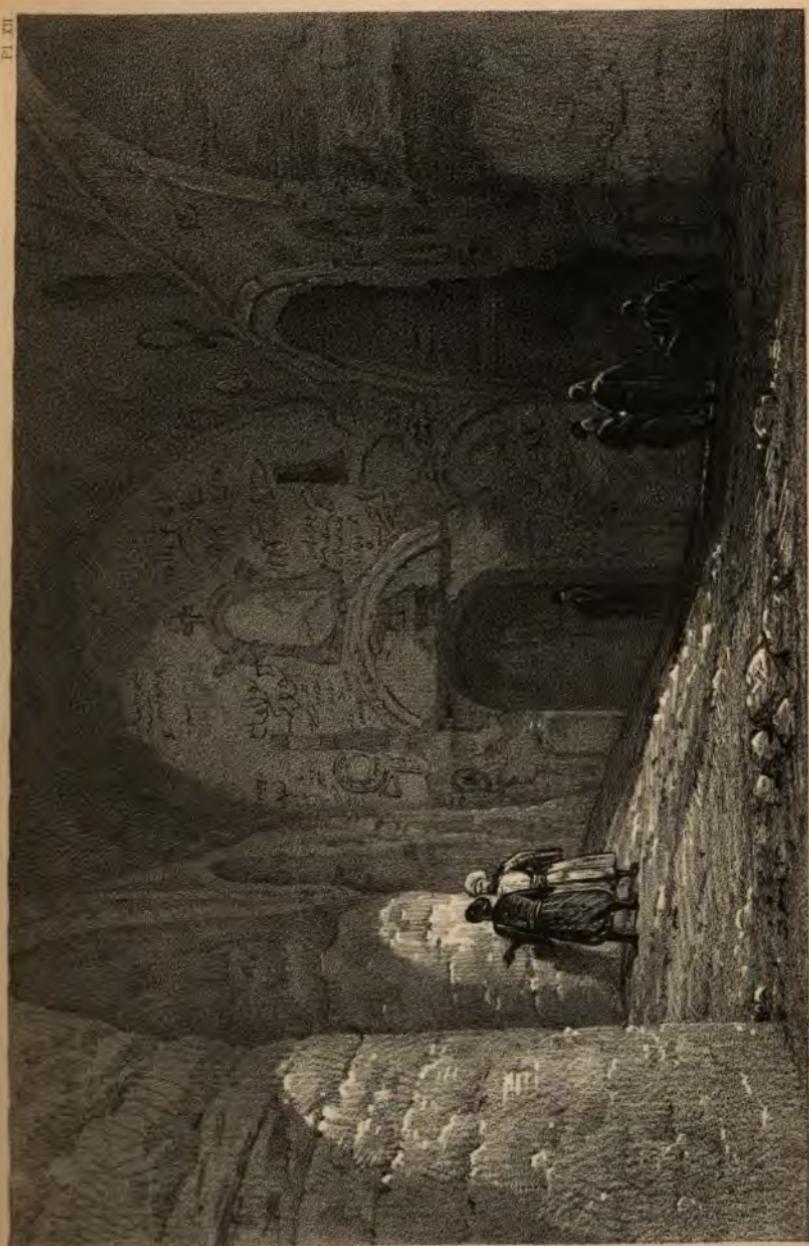
'Tis pleasant, down the depth of ages past  
To venture, re-erect huge capitals,  
And hear the noise of cities now no more.

MONTGOMERY'S *Messiah*.

An hour's ride north of the necropolis, there is a fine range of hills which I explored, but found no antiquities. Some of them are of sandstone, and seem to have furnished material for the temple; but most of the mountains are calcareous, chiefly of an extremely soft limestone.

I noticed a cleft in one of the rocks, apparently the effect of an earthquake; and the narrow cavern thus formed by nature, seems at some period of time to have been the abode of persecuted Christians, as I observed on the rocks the inscriptions of three names in Greek characters, accompanied with a representation of the Maltese cross.

North-east of the great temple of el Khargeh, there are two tombs, excavated in a low rocky hillock on the plain. The first chamber of the largest of them is 18 feet long and 15 wide, and contains columns ornamented with Egyptian



London 1870 Ad 1.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHARTER OF THE NEGROES, BY WILLIAM WOLSTENHOLME.

By E. H. G. Lith. &c. in the Year 6



capitals and bases. In the second chamber there is a mummy pit; but the columns and walls of both the rooms being rough and unfinished, it is probable that the sepulchre has never been used.

A hundred paces to the south of these tombs, in the same plain, and rather picturesquely situated, are the remains of a curious and polygonal edifice; which, I imagine, may have been the tomb of some Roman governor. The exterior was decorated at the angles with pilasters; and the interior was circular, forming a dome, below which was a small vaulted chamber, no doubt intended for the body of the dead.

To the south of the ruin I have just described are the remains of a small temple: part of the walls of two chambers are still standing. The doorways are decorated with the Egyptian bead- ing and cornice, and also the winged globe.

South-east of these, on a hill conspicuous from every part of the plain, is a high brick enclosure, called E Nadara, containing a small temple or chamber, of which three walls are standing, or- namented with sculpture and hieroglyphics; but unfortunately, on account of the softness of the sandstone, of which the building is constructed,

they are very much defaced. The Emperors Adrian and Antoninus are represented making offerings to the different divinities. The hieroglyphics are rather illegible, but the style of the sculpture is not very bad.

From this temple being constructed in the time of Adrian, we may suppose, that it has been used as a Roman fortress. A stronger and more defensible position could not have been selected. The view from this acropolis was very extensive, but of a description more calculated to inspire melancholy than pleasant feelings.

Behind me was a dolorous dreary scene,  
With huge and mouldering ruins widely spread,  
Wastes, which had whilome fertile regions been,  
Tombs, which had lost all record of the dead,  
And, where the dim horizon seemed to close,  
Far off the gloomy sepulchres arose.

SOUTHEY.

*3d Nov.* Town of el Khargeh. — This afternoon we at length succeeded in tearing ourselves away from the interesting ruins of el Khargeh. Notwithstanding that we have obtained such rich spoils, I could have wished to stay a few days longer. It would have given me pleasure to have made further excavations, to have cleared away the sand from the northern side of the first

chamber of the interior of the temple, and to have uncovered all the sculpture in the sanctuaries. Such is the fascination of the study of Egyptian antiquities, that whenever I meet with an interesting building, I am always reluctant to leave it, so long as there is a drawing to take, or a single part to be investigated. Perhaps the time that we passed here might have been employed more profitably in the valley of the Nile: but the value of these ruins is enhanced by their peculiar situation, being in an Oasis seldom visited, and otherwise offering little compensation to the general traveller for so toilsome a journey. Those, however, who are interested in Egyptian subjects, would consider the architectural remains an ample indemnification for the fatigue of crossing the desert.

*4th Nov.* Boulak. — This morning was occupied in receiving the visits of the chiefs of the Oasis, examining the town of el Khargeh, and drawing the tombs of the sheakhs. We left the place at five P. M., and in three hours arrived at Genah, a small village, containing a population of about 250. The streets are not protected from the sun with roofs, like those in the metropolis; they are, however, effectually shaded by

the spreading branches of the orange and pomegranate trees, which, with groves of dates, doums, and olive trees, surround the village. The streets, or rather lanes, are so narrow, that one of our baggage camels got jammed between the two walls of one of these passages, and, at last falling down, blocked up the road completely. We were obliged to unload the animal, before we could extricate it; and, fearful of a similar accident in a more awkward situation, we relinquished the attempt to pass through the village.

Pursuing our desert track, we arrived at half-past twelve at the town of Boulak. Our seven hours' ride, this evening, has been most uninteresting; for, except in the immediate vicinity of the towns, the route has continually been over dreary plains of sand.

*5th Nov. 1832.*—I was confined to my tent the whole of this day by a painful attack of ophthalmia: and, although in the morning it was very severe, yet, by double doses of the contents of an inestimable bottle, I have nearly subdued it. As some of my readers may wish to know what this wonderful vial contains — what this infallible remedy for such a baneful complaint can be, I will tell the history of it,

though I cannot fully gratify the desire of the curious. The purser of the French frigate, the Luxor, which was built for the purpose of removing one of the obelisks from Thebes, was the fabricator of this extraordinary water. He informed me, when in Egypt, that his father had been attached to Napoleon's expedition to that country, and had then discovered this miraculous cure. From fear of its being analysed, he had never allowed any person to possess more than a very small quantity; but he cured without fee all who came to him: Christian and Mussulman, French and English, Turk and Arab. When this liquor was applied in time, it was found always to stop the most virulent attacks of the disease, and generally relieved in a very few days even those who had been for several months martyrs to the complaint. A Turk, who had suffered for years, was completely cured in a fortnight; and, in gratitude to his benefactor, gave him a horse richly caparisoned. The Frenchman's fame was spread throughout the country, and many came to him as far as from Keneh and Esneh.

Even the surgeon of the Luxor was so sensible of the value of the remedy, and of its producing

no subsequent bad effects, that he sent all the officers and men of the vessel suffering from that complaint, to the purser or to the hakim (doctor), as the natives called him. The application was easy to the hakim, but most painful to the patient. He let fall a single drop of the water on the ball of each eye, which immediately spread, and from its pungent nature caused, if much irritation existed, the most inexpressible torture. In twenty minutes, or half an hour, this pain subsided, and a little clammy matter was seen to ooze from the eye. The remedy, although violent, did not weaken the eye in the slightest degree, nor in any manner injure the sight.

Knowing that I purposed going into Ethiopia, the hakim had the kindness to sell me, for about its weight in gold, a small bottle of this water; but under the express condition, that I would neither directly nor indirectly allow it to be analysed. He said that it was his intention to return again to Egypt, and that he expected to be able to make his fortune: but whether he does or not, I feel most grateful to him for having saved me from much torture, as I have often been obliged to have recourse to the

water, and have kept my promise in not allowing it to be analysed. As this person has now left the country, and no further supply is to be obtained, I prize the water most highly, and cannot afford to use it for the relief of mere strangers. The remedy which I generally find to succeed with the natives, when applied to by them, is sulphate of zinc in strong doses, ten grains being dissolved in an ounce of water, and a drop of this being put in each eye two or three times a day. This is by no means so certain a remedy as the hakim's water, but in nine cases out of ten I have found it to succeed.

When, however, the inflammation and swelling are so great that the eyes are closed, cupping is the only effectual remedy. Mr. Ponsonby, who travelled with me in Lower Nubia, was attacked with this description of ophthalmia. I sent without delay for the hakim, alias barber, of a village. It was fortunate that the eyes of Mr. P. were quite closed; for had he seen the hakim he would scarcely have reposed sufficient confidence in his skill to submit to the operation. The man was actually in rags, and of the most unprepossessing appearance, without a single

ray of intelligence in his countenance. His cups were made of the horns of a cow, and his instrument was an old razor, not so decent-looking, nor so sharp as a tolerably good stick knife. I offered him a lancet, but he said that he did not know how to use it. Thinking that it would be less painful for Mr. P. to be scarified with a sharp than a blunt razor, I gave the man one of my own ; but, being unaccustomed to so fine an instrument, and not aware of the much less force it required, than his own blunt knife, he cut too deep ; I therefore thought it best to allow him to finish the operation in his own way. I must confess, indeed, that he did it very expertly, and I may add, successfully, as he effected a very sudden and almost miraculous cure of Mr. P.'s ophthalmia.

At Thebes I had two severe attacks of this disease, which incapacitated me from either reading, writing, or drawing. Thanks to the hakim's water, these attacks were fortunately short ; but they were painful while they lasted, and most irksome to support. To be debarred from all mental enjoyment and bodily exercise ; to be in the world and yet see nothing ; and to be without the general

resources of the blind, particularly society, this was, indeed, tiresome. A Turk might probably have amused himself with his beads, but even a Mahometan's philosophy would have forsaken him in such a situation, especially as the regimen necessary for this complaint requires the sacrifice of the all-consoling pipe.

The Arabs and Turks having frequently asked me for medicine to relieve them from attacks of ophthalmia. The water that I applied to their eyes invariably caused them extreme pain, which, however, they bore with great courage and resignation, having implicit faith in the skill of a European; when, however, I desired them to give up their pipes, (smoking being extremely injurious) "Inshallah!" (please God!) they replied, but never had the resolution to do so. An opium-eater may refrain from his weed, a drunkard may resign his glass; but I soon found the absurdity of asking an Oriental to abandon his shibouk. Like ice to the Sicilians, macaroni to the Neapolitans, and grog to the British sailor, they consider it as their staff of life, and conceive it impossible to get through the day without it.

The peasants here brought us a quantity of Roman coins, generally quite illegible, and some small figures in pottery, rudely executed. Mr. Hay bought from them a curious little bronze Egyptian statue, with a singular ornament on its head: the style not bad. Whilst I was lying the whole of the day in my tent, tortured by the ophthalmia and sickened with ennui, Mr. H. and Mr. C. went to the ruins of Kasr Ouaty, which I shall not be able to examine until after my visit to the temple of Doosh.

The town, or rather village, of Boulak contains, I understand, about 250 or 300 inhabitants. Its narrow streets, shaded with groves of orange trees, reminded me of Sarentum, — I mean its lanes, the most uninteresting part of the place. The comparison, however, can be extended no further; nature has adorned that favoured spot with every charm: whereas there is here no magnificent assemblage of rocks and hills, plains and villages, woods and waters; no Vesuvius pouring forth its wrath, often destroying the hopes and prospects of many at the very time that it is the source of wealth and prosperity to thousands; no splendid rocks and caverns; no rich Campagna Felice to gladden the eye; nor

the magnificent, deep blue Mediterranean with its gorgeous sunsets. This little town and its groves of fruit trees can only be termed beautiful, when compared to the inhospitable desert which encircles it.

*5th. Nov.* — We left Boulak this morning, and shortly afterwards deviated a little towards the east from the direct road, in order to visit the ruins of two convents. They are now only worthy of remark for the wildness and dreariness of their position, being situated on an eminence surrounded by vast downs of sand. There are no habitations near them; but the rocks in their immediate vicinity have, at a distance, the appearance of houses. These seem to be now the favourite resort of the wild animals which abound in the wilderness. The sand was traced every where by the footsteps of wolves, gazelles, hyenas, &c.; and I observed one place, where apparently a beast of prey had surprised a gazelle; a struggle for existence had evidently taken place, the carcase of the victim had been conveyed away by its destroyer, but the evidence of its destruction still existed. Although the gazelles seem to have run and gambolled in every direction over the plain, we

have seen very few alive. Apparently, they only leave their hiding places in the rocks during the night, or their number may not be great, as the traces exist for a long time, particularly in situations sheltered from the wind, and where the sand is seldom disturbed.

It is impossible now to say, whether the country immediately surrounding these convents was once rich, or whether it has always been as wild and fearful as it now is ; and, if its features are unchanged, what may have been the motives that could influence human beings to select such abodes ? I can imagine a man, fond of literature and science, secluding himself (as in former times was often the case), from society, when he found that its frivolity, tediousness, and general tone did not accord with his tastes and habits ; sacrificing the joys and comforts of domestic life, and immuring himself within the walls of a rich convent or college, where, free from care and trouble, and protected at all events from many anxieties and vicissitudes, he would be enabled to devote his whole life to religious exercises or intellectual pursuits. Instances are numerous of such men being useful to the world, not only by their theological

productions, but also from the excellence to which they have attained in different branches of science and general literature ; and many, living in this manner, have immortalised themselves as painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians. But it was not to abandon themselves to the delights of study and philosophical speculations that the religious enthusiasts of Alexandria forsook the comforts and pleasures of that metropolis : their lives are reported to have been entirely spent in the most severe monastic exercises. It might be thought that superstition could seldom be of such a firm and durable nature, as to sustain a man in the performance of duties which are useless to the world and unprofitable to himself ; yet these enthusiasts are said to have voluntarily and perseveringly submitted, until the last moments of their lives, to ordinances and deprivations, at the recital of which humanity shudders, and which could have no other tendency than to disgust the sensible and alarm the timid.

We passed at two o'clock a little island, if so I may call a small green spot in this sea of barrenness. It consists of a few date trees, and a source of water now almost choked with sand ;

and therefore future travellers cannot safely trust to it. It afforded us an example of the destructive effects of the desert, and of the facility with which an unprotected well is engulfed, surrounding vegetation destroyed, and all traces of it soon obliterated.

After half an hour's repose under the shade, we started again, and near midnight arrived at another cultivated little island, called Hadegage. It contains a fine source of water, beautiful dates, and some magnificent doum trees. We found on our arrival a party of Arabs seated around a blazing fire, which, as the nights are now rather cold, we also found to be a great enjoyment. The Arabs informed us, that they belonged to the town of Byrese, and were come here for the purpose of attending to a few fields of dourah, which they had cultivated.

*Byrese, 7th. Nov.* — We did not leave Hadegage until four this afternoon; Mr. Hay's dragoman having caught the fever, and being unable to bear the motion of the camel, in place of which we have procured him an ass. We arrived at Byrese by eight o'clock in the evening.

*8th. Nov.* — Byrese contains a population of

about 600 inhabitants, and is therefore the second town in the Oasis. It is prettily situated on an eminence, one side of which is veiled with immense groves of the staple commodity of the country, the palm tree. The other sides are surrounded by fields of grain, chiefly dourah, which are protected from the encroachments of the deserts by palisades of the stalks of the palm. In this part of the valley, the sand is evidently disturbed by every wind that blows, and threatens continually to overwhelm all under its waves. Even in the immediate vicinity of the town, I observed the summits of several tombs of sheakhs, appearing above the surface; and, were it not for the labours of its inhabitants, Byrese itself, notwithstanding its elevated situation, would soon be covered with the desert.

There is only one source of water at Byrese, but, being the most copious in the Oasis, it is quite sufficient for the population. It fills a large basin. The laws and regulations, for its equal distribution among the different cultivators, are rigorously and impartially observed.

The inhabitants of this town have apparently, no more curiosity than the natives of el Khargeh. They never once stepped out of the houses to look at us. I fear, that our being known to be Christians, is one cause of their not caring to visit us; but perhaps their chiefs have forbid them.

The peasants here, are by no means poor. They carry on a trade with the Nile, independent of the metropolis, el Khargeh. I mentioned in crossing the desert, that we passed on our left a road, which led to this town. There is also another road to Esneh, which, being one of the largest and most commercial cities in Upper Egypt, is of course an excellent mart for their dates, rice, and other fruit. They there supply themselves with various manufactured articles, and especially with wheat, part of which they formerly sold to the caravan to Darfour; which always remained here a day or two, for the sake of commerce, to rest the camels before recommencing the traverse of the desert, and to supply itself with whatever might be required in the route southward. I saw in the town, several women with their faces un-

covered. Their persons were adorned with ornaments of gold and silver, and some very curious shell necklaces. The children were profusely decorated with shells.

## CHAP. IX.

DEPARTURE FROM BOULAK.—TRACES OF WILD ANIMALS.—HADEGAGE.—TOWN OF BYRESE.—COMMERCE.—VILLAGE OF EL MAKs.—VILLAGE OF DOOSH.—TEMPLE OF DOOSH.—BRICK TEMPLE.—DIFFICULTY OF PENETRATING TO DARFOUR.

*8th. Nov.* — I LEFT the town of Byrese in the morning by nine o'clock, with the intention of coming direct to this temple. Being anxious not to lose any time, and to commence my labours with the pencil as soon as possible, I parted from the caravan, and, pushing on my dromedary, arrived in three hours at the village of el Maks. I then found that I had taken the wrong path, the temple being an hour and a half, or four and a half miles to the east of this place.

The village of el Maks is the last of the Oasis. Its source of water is but scanty ; the

cultivated land limited, and not very productive ; the population, about 100. There is an air of greater neatness about the place than the generality of Arab villages possess. At a distance, it may be said to appear rather pretty.

I procured a peasant at el Maks, to show me the road to the village and temple of Doosh. Another mistake of the direction, for road there is none, would have been awkward, as a traveller may easily lose himself among these deserts of sand. In an hour we arrived at the village of Doosh, which is about the same size as el Maks, and also rather pretty.

The natives of these two small hamlets, and also of the town of Byrese, are more robust and healthy in their appearance than the inhabitants of the metropolis, el Khargeh. This may be attributable to their situation being more elevated, and therefore more exposed to the strong north winds, which would carry off any malaria engendered by the exhalations of the rice fields, or arising from the sources ; and perhaps the water is more salubrious. The greater healthiness of these two villages, at the extremity of the Oasis, may also in some degree arise from their population being less numerous and poorer,

and from their being obliged to work harder to earn a subsistence. I am describing only the appearance of the natives, for they themselves say, that the fever annually visits every village in the Oasis; and certainly it was in the less populous places that our caravan suffered most from the complaint: but, from the almost indelible traces of its effects on the citizens of the metropolis, its ravages are evidently there most virulent.

At both these small villages, as at Byrese and el Khargeh, we observed the same indifference, apathy, and want of curiosity on the part of the inhabitants. Though some years had passed since any Europeans had visited them, and although not more than about a dozen have probably ever been in these places, scarcely any of the inhabitants (except the sheakhs, who might consider it a matter of duty to pay us visits), ever came near our encampment.

We could not but notice this circumstance, and of course we regretted it, as we had thus less opportunity of observing their manners, and of obtaining information. If indeed dark-coloured Africans were to visit a small village in one of our wild and unvisited regions, and should take

up their abode there a few days, for what might seem to the people if not an inadequate, at all events a mysterious, reason, the probability is, that they would have too much, rather than too little, of the company of the natives. Not only the women and children, but the men also, both young and old, would assemble to watch the movements of the strange visitors.

## TEMPLE OF DOOSH.

These ruins, also, are more remarkable for their situation in the Oasis, than for the beauty of their architecture. They are however curious, as one of them bears the names of the Roman emperors, Trajan, Domitian, and Adrian, in hieroglyphics, and of the first and last in a Greek inscription. They afford satisfactory evidence of the flourishing state of the Oasis, during the reigns of these kings; since it evidently must then have been of more importance, or they would not have gone to the expense of building and decorating a place of worship, such as this is.

The principal temple, together with many other habitations, standing on an eminence and

being protected by a thick wall, led us to imagine that the builders did not conceive themselves very safe in their possessions; or wherefore the necessity of fortifying themselves in such a manner?

The brick wall of the enclosure is well executed, containing staircases and galleries within the wall. For what purpose these passages were constructed, cannot now be ascertained. They remind us of the legends of the feudal times, when every castle had its secret galleries, passages, and staircases, to screen the person or villainy of its lord. One side of the foundations of the vestibule is remaining. Its length must have been 63 ft.; it led up to a doorway, which is still existing.

The stone part to the first wing of this doorway seems to have been of brick, but it is now destroyed. In the western wing, a room and staircase may still be traced.\*

\* The stone part of the propylon, built in the usual Egyptian manner, is 17 feet 8 inches wide, and 13 feet 10 inches long. The widest part of the interior, that is, the usual recess, which is 9 feet long, is 8 feet 2 inches wide; and the narrowest between the door parts at each end, which are 2 feet 5 inches long, is 6 feet 8 inches wide.

On the architrave, over the door of this propylon, is the Greek inscription mentioned above, which I copied (See appendix). It was written in the nineteenth year of the reign of Adrian, whose name it bears.

Two brick walls, the traces of which still exist, seem to have connected the wings of the first propylon with the wall of the great enclosure, a distance of 97 ft.; and from the traces of columns, which are still remaining, this appears to have been filled with courts and chambers, ornamented with columns, fragments of five of which still remain, being 2 ft. in diameter. I observed also some capitals, rather well executed, in the Egyptian style; but others almost resembled the Roman doric.

The walls connecting the first propylon to the enclosure, being six feet thick, show the precautions which were taken for the security of the only approach into the acropolis. The second propylon is precisely of the same form as the first, although its dimensions are smaller; the exterior of it only measuring 10 ft. 5 in. in width, and 12 ft. 9 in. in length. The interior is ornamented with a little sculpture, but of no value. There is a representation of a king:

his name however is not legible. The wings of this pylon are the walls of the enclosure; its southern front (the temple stands nearly north and south), is 36 ft. from the vestibule of the sekos, or body of the temple.

Plate 13. is a view of the latter, taken from the most favourable point: a fracture of the enclosure shows the desert in the distance, and exhibits the vast thickness and solidity of the fortifications. The view shows the situation of the edifice close to the eastern wall, the side of the temple, and the façade, which is its chief attraction.

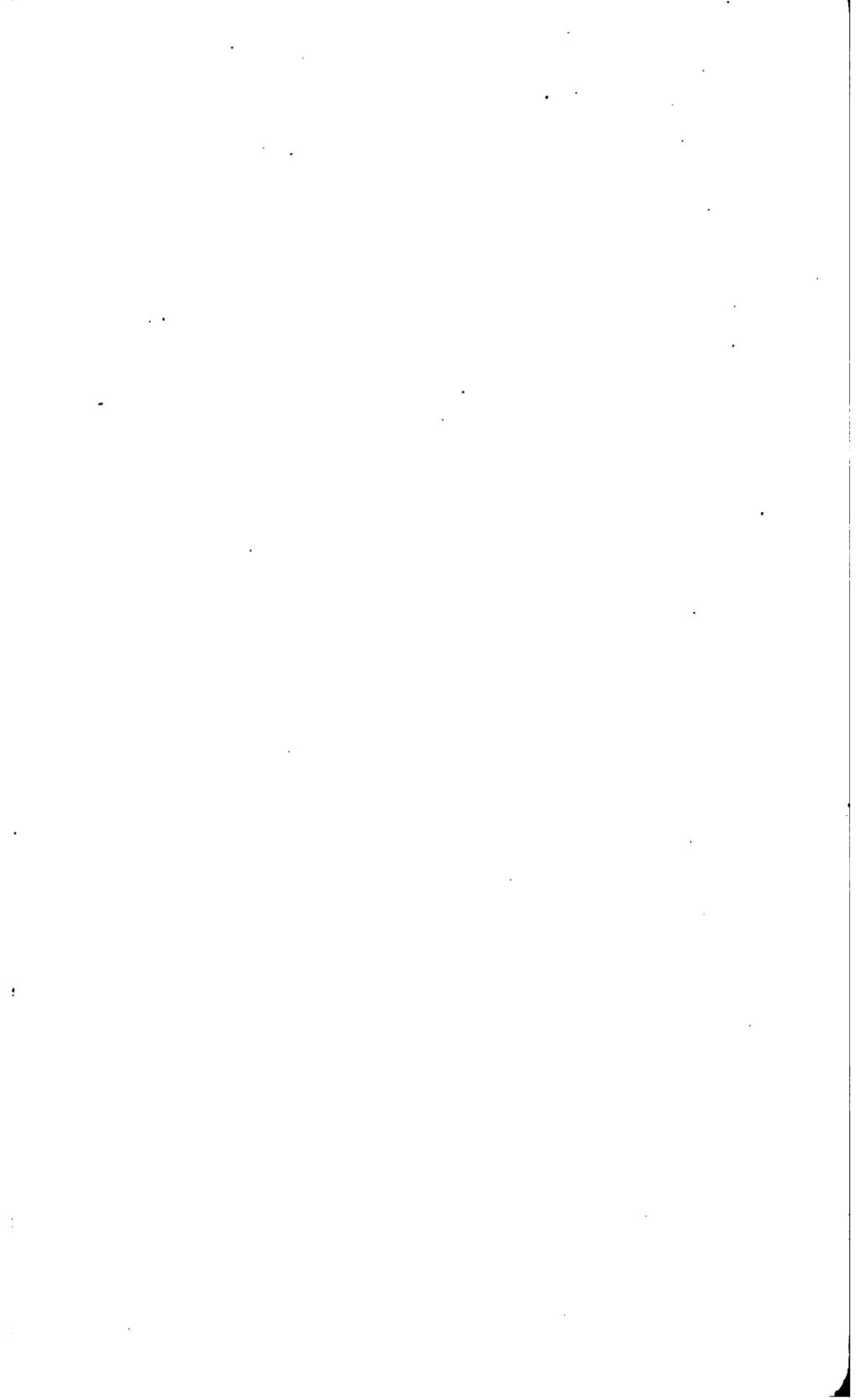
The sculpture, which adorns the façade, is partially exhibited in this view. The Roman emperor is represented making offerings, in the first line, to Serapis, who has the head-dress of the globe and two feathers; in the second, to Isis, with the head-dress of the globe and horns; in the third to Horus, with the hawk's head and a helmet upon it; and again, in the line beneath, to Isis, with a globe and horns. The style of the sculpture is not very bad; but the hieroglyphics, from the softness of the sandstone, are almost illegible. The decorations of the vestibule, and the confused mass of



Day & Night in the Empire of Abyssinia.

THE EMPIRE OF ABBYSSINIA.

London, Longman & Co. 1837.



brick buildings beyond the temple, are also shown in this view.

The little vestibule, or first room of the body of the temple, measures in the interior 13 ft. 8 in. long, and 16 ft. broad. The façade was ornamented with columns, the intercolumniation being built up to a certain height in an ornamental manner, with beadings and cornices, to resemble monolithic temples; a style of building very commonly adopted by the Ptolemies and Romans in Egypt. It is now much injured, sufficient only remaining to show what it has been.

This vestibule leads into a portico or room, 27 ft. long and 17 ft. 6 in. wide, which contains four columns, 2 ft. 3 in. in diameter. The capitals are much dilapidated, and have never been finished, being totally without any of the usual decorations; the shafts are without sculpture, and are half buried in the sand, which has drifted in from the desert. A doorway, on the west side of the room, leads into a passage, 21 ft. by 2 ft. There are three doors at the south end: the one in the centre, ornamented with the Egyptian cornice and with small-sized sculpture, which represents a king, in an almost

prostrate position, making offerings to small representations of the divinities, Serapis, Isis, and Horus, leads into a sanctuary 10 ft. 5 in. by 8 ft. 2 in. ; and another doorway leads into the inner sanctuary, of precisely the same size.

The other two doors lead into galleries, which flank the sanctuaries ; the one on the east side is 22 ft. 10 in. long and 4 ft. 9 in. wide, and the one on the west is 22 ft. 6 in. long and 4 ft. 6 in. wide. These rooms were so crowded with bats, that it was rather unpleasant to obtain their dimensions.

The posterior wall of the temple is ornamented with sculpture. The figures are large and tolerably well executed, but, on account of the softness of the sandstone, much defaced ; and some of the hieroglyphics are scarcely legible. The Emperor Domitian is represented making offerings of incense to a divinity, with the hawk's head and plain helmet, called, in the hieroglyphics above him, Horus, son of Isis. The divinity behind the latter is, I conceive, Osiris : the only hieroglyphic legible is the eye, sufficient however from its position to determine his name. After these divinities there are two lines of hieroglyphics, forming the centre of the tablet.

They are much broken, and contain merely titles.

On the same side the Emperor is again represented, making offerings to the divinity with the head-dress of two feathers, probably Osiris ; but the hieroglyphics are destroyed. Behind the latter is Isis, with the head-dress of the globe and horns ; in front of her are two lines of hieroglyphics, containing her usual titles. At each end was a line of hieroglyphics, now very much defaced : a fragment, which I copied, alludes to the king offering incense to Osiris and Isis. Above this tablet is a line of small figures and divinities, vultures with outstretched wings, and a very clever representation of a cat,—the only figure of this animal that I recollect having seen delineated on either an Egyptian temple or tomb.

About sixty yards from the enclosure, containing the temple I have just described, there is a curious brick ruin, which has also evidently been a temple. The first court (plate 14.) is nearly dilapidated ; but the second and third room are in tolerable preservation : the roof of the fourth and last chamber, being broken, produces a beautiful effect.

Over the doorway, as will be seen in the view, is a gothic arch. This building has certainly been neither a Coptic church, nor Arab mosque. Any one indeed, accustomed to the study of the antiquities of Egypt, could not but see the resemblance of the plan of the edifice to the temples in the valley of the Nile, constructed by the Romans. I have no hesitation, therefore, in considering it as a sacred structure. The plan is not very unlike that of the stone temple within the enclosure: the workmanship has the appearance of being ancient: and, although there are no representations of divinities which may be accounted for from its being built of brick, and notwithstanding that it is the only known instance existing of a temple being entirely constructed of such material, I nevertheless believe it may have been devoted to the services of Egyptian worship. Perhaps it was dedicated to some particular divinity; or, what is more probable, it may have been used temporarily, until the other temple was completed.\*

The houses within the enclosure are almost

\* The vestibule measures 21 ft. in length, and 24 in breadth: the first chamber is 18 ft. long, 12 broad; the second, 14 ft. by 12; and the third is 7 ft. in length.

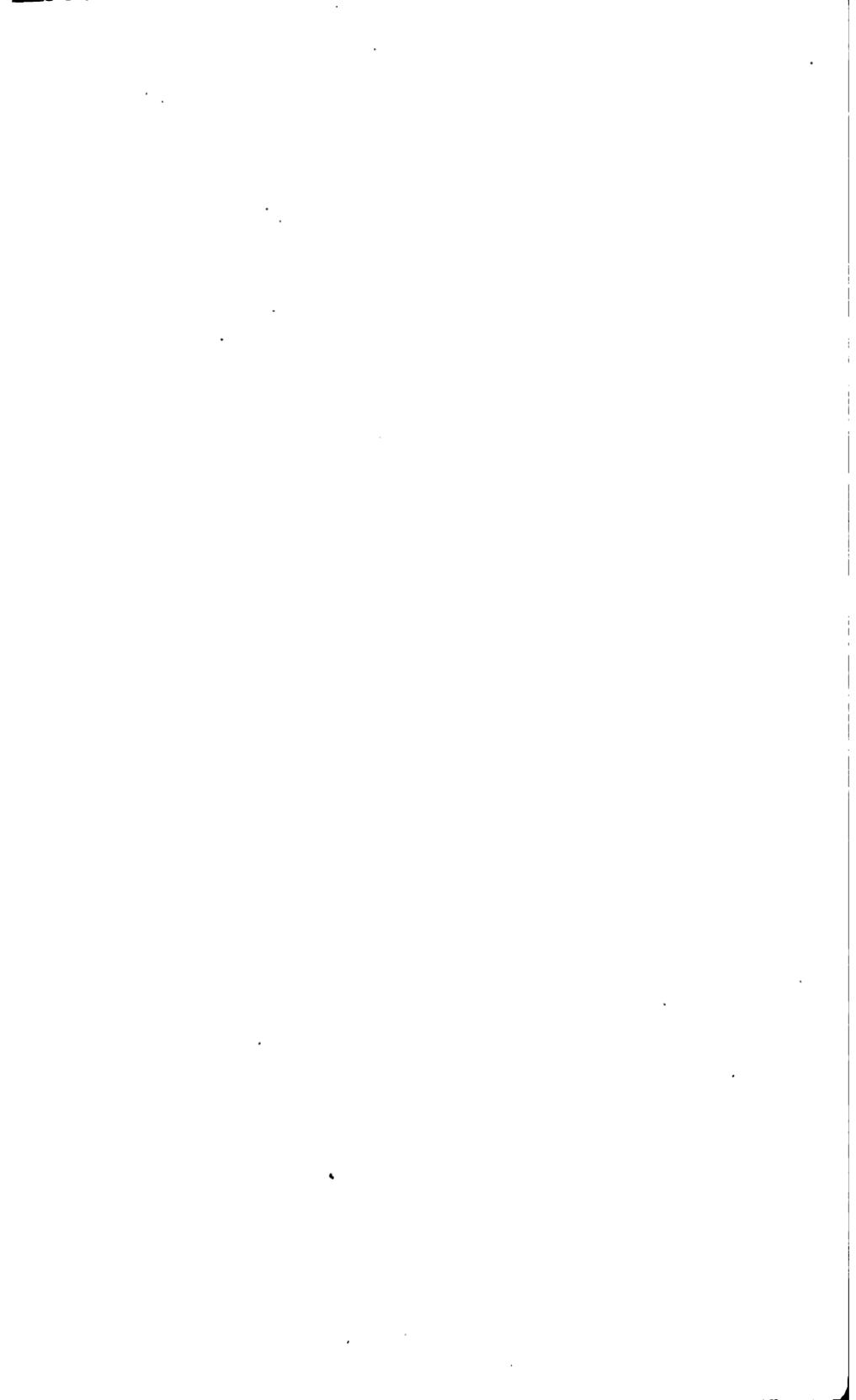


F. A. Sales Engraved & Printed by J. C. D.

Day & Raggs. Litho to the King.

BRICK TEMPLE AT DOOSH.

London: Longman & C° 1837.



a mass of ruins ; but some of them seem to have been well built, although their small size denotes neither comfort or opulence. The enclosure measures 200 feet by 180.

I have now described the most southerly temple in the Oasis. I could have wished that this was but the beginning of my journey, and that I were now on my way to Darfour. Browne found no temples, either here or in the latter kingdom. As he passed then so many in this Oasis, it is very possible that some may exist even in the kingdom of Darfour ; particularly when we consider that he saw a very small portion of the country, and had rarely an opportunity of obtaining correct information.

A journey to Darfour is however not at present practicable ; for, even if the European traveller had an opportunity of going thither, the king is so jealous and fearful of the pasha of Egypt, that he would assuredly treat him as a spy ; particularly as he may be aware that there are several Franks in the employ of the pasha. A stranger therefore would have now less chance of obtaining correct information, of being able to examine the country, and of finally escaping from the king's power, than even our

unfortunate countryman, Browne, had ; who may be considered as the victim of those religious prejudices, which are as yet unabated, and of those petty intrigues and that unprincipled villainy which too often accompany despotic sway, when lodged in the hands of individuals, uneducated and licentious, unrestrained by any fear of loss of character, and not guided by a correct sense of right principles.

## CHAP. X.

QUARREL WITH THE NATIVES.—ILLNESS OF MR. HAY'S DRAGOMAN.—INFLUENCE OF COFFEE ON ORIENTALS.—SUPERSTITION OF A SHEAKH.—TEMPLE OF KASR ZIAN.—TEMPLE OF KASR OUATY.—ATTACK OF FEVER.—DEPARTURE FROM THE OASIS.—REMARKS ON THE INHABITANTS.—SUFFERINGS OF OUR CAMELS.—JOY OF THE ARABS ON ARRIVING IN SIGHT OF THE NILE.—CONGRATULATIONS ON OUR SAFE RETURN.

12th Nov., *Hadegage*.—Mr. H. and Mr. C. left the temple of Doosh a few hours before I was ready; and as my men were preparing to follow them, we had a slight affair with the natives, which might have ended seriously. The cause was of a very trifling nature:—My man Mustapha refused to pay one of the peasants twenty paras (two-pence) extra for some fowls which he had bought. The Arab said, he would make my servant pay what he pleased;

and Mustapha said, he would only give him the regular price.

The man went away in a rage, and came back with eight of his friends. My attendants were loading the camels. They stopped them, tore off one of the boxes, vowed they would seize all the goods, and were beginning to beat the servants, when Mustapha took my gun and pistols, which I had left in the tent, and ran to me in the temple. I hastened to the spot; but whether it was fear of my fire-arms, dread of a European, or shame for their inhospitable conduct, which gave speed to their feet, I know not; and, although I was anxious to speak to them, and to learn from themselves the cause of their complaint, and called out to them in a friendly tone, they were evidently either afraid or ashamed, and were out of sight in a moment. As I was aware that many of the natives of the Oasis have guns, I thought it not improbable, that they might be running home for theirs. I considered it, therefore, prudent to withdraw from the place, and join my companions at Byrese without delay.

The habeer having gone with Mr. H. and Mr. C., and the man, who professed to be my

guide, not being very competent, we missed the direct path, and had to wade through several tracts of deep sand, before we arrived at Byrese. Travelling in such a region as this requires a little caution ; for if a mistake is not positively dangerous, yet it is extremely inconvenient. Mr. H. and I lingered afterwards in the evening behind the caravan to make some drawings ; and, as night came on, we should scarcely have found this place (Hadegage) if our party had not lighted a fire as a signal.

Mr. Hay's dragoman is not yet recovered from the fever : his strength is, indeed, so reduced, that he can bear very little fatigue. Were it not for the greater plainness of their food, and the healthy influence of the labour which they are obliged to undergo, I feel persuaded, that the average of the mortality among the lower orders would greatly exceed that of the better educated ranks of society. The latter, generally, possess a certain moral courage and strength of nerve, which enables them to throw off diseases, under which their less powerful or impaired constitutions would otherwise sink.

Mr. H.'s dragoman sighs and moans from morning to night, thinks it impossible he can

escape from such a baneful climate as this, or undergo the fatigue of crossing the Desert ; and he fancies that he shall never again see his wife and children in his native island, Malta. We all endeavoured to rally his courage ; but his spirits are so dejected, that our efforts are almost useless.

This place abounds with dry wood, which has afforded us a glorious fire, and as great enjoyment, although in the open air, as we could have experienced in a warm drawing-room in England.

*18th of Nov.* — I left Hadegage early this morning, and riding quick, arrived in four hours at Boulak. A few of the peasants came to me as I was reposing on my carpet and smoking my pipe. I gave one of them a little tobacco, which being of a superior description to any he had probably ever smoked before, opened his heart, and made him more communicative than the natives in this region generally are.

I wanted information about the population of the different villages, a subject they particularly avoid talking about. My new acquaintance, who had tasted the tobacco, was apparently inclined to answer this question ; but I saw that

he was deterred by the grave looks of his friends. As a last resource I ordered my man to make me coffee, and I gave each of them a cup, which had the desired effect.

It is astonishing to observe the power which a fingan of hot coffee has upon the hearts of Orientals. It has, in fact, far more influence than a glass of spirits or ale on an Englishman, or a bottle of wine on our continental neighbours. I have heard of travellers extricating themselves from various difficulties merely by a judicious application of this soothing beverage.

The muleteer of a friend of mine, on arriving at a small village in Syria, consisting of a few huts and, as is usual, a coffee-house, refused to continue the journey because, he had heard, that there were brigands on the road. His employer offered him more money and a handsome backsheesh. No: the man was obstinate, sat down doggedly in a corner of the café, and would not listen to any offers.

There was no Turkish authority in the neighbourhood to apply to in this dilemma; nor, if there had, was my friend's agreement such, as would have justified him in insisting on the

man's pursuing the journey. Neither a mule nor any substitute was to be obtained in the neighbourhood, as the beasts of burden had been all taken for the war. The traveller was in despair. Having, however, heard of the wonderful influence of coffee in restoring the good temper, and in softening the hearts of the children of the East, he thought this a fair opportunity of trying its efficacy. He ordered a cup of coffee for himself, and at the same time, presented one in a very civil manner to the muleteer, who, however, refused the offer ; but my friend, perceiving that he eyed it rather wistfully, determined to persevere.

Some villagers soon afterwards came into the room, and the traveller treated them to coffee. A cup was given to each, and the muleteer, unable to resist any longer, took the one which was offered him. After the usual interval of smoking a pipe, my friend ordered more coffee, and gave another cup, and also a pipe of his own real gible tobacco to the muleteer, the united effects of which had such an influence in softening his stubborn heart, and in restoring his reasoning powers, that, whereas, before he would not listen to any proposition, he now



G. A. Rutherford Esq. & Co. Etching.

DISTANT VIEW OF KASIR IEL ZIAX.

London, Longman & C° 1857.

Dog Kegi, Lake on the Roof.



allowed himself to be convinced that it was his interest to proceed on the journey.

I was amused at the superstitious dread of one of the sheakhs. He had thrown himself on the ground in a very picturesque attitude; upon which I took out my paper and pencil, and began to sketch him: but he started up in an instant, retired to a considerable distance, threw himself on his knees, and began telling his beads and saying his prayers, while he continued to watch me very anxiously, to see whether I was still drawing him, or, as he supposed, exercising my magic upon him.

## TEMPLE OF KASR ZIAN.

13th Nov. 1832.—The temple of Kasr Zian is situated on slightly elevated ground, in a large plain: plate 15. will show its appearance at a distance. The foreground of this view, consisting of palm trees and acacias bordering the course of a stream, will give the reader a good idea of the scenery near the brooks I have before alluded to, and for this reason I have selected it. The crude brick inclosure, which surrounds the temple, is 230 ft. long from north to south, and 84 ft. broad, and 3 ft. 2 in. in the thickness of the wall.

The entrance into it is on the south side, through a stone doorway of the usual form ; 64 ft. 6 in. from the latter is a court of bricks, 49 ft. long, and 18 ft. wide. About the entrance are fragments of stone, on one of which is part of a Greek inscription. Plate 16. is taken from the southern end of the inclosure. The ruins of the brickwork are strikingly picturesque, and particularly curious, as evincing the great pains and knowledge exhibited in its original construction. Here also, as at Doosh (see plate 16.), there are passages, cleverly constructed in the thick outside wall. The bricks are of a large size, and, as it seems to have been the case invariably, unbaked.

In the centre of the view is the temple, which is, however, better shown in plate 17. The façade of this edifice, which is 13 ft. from the brick court, is 25 ft. wide, and consisted simply of a doorway, the lintels of which are ornamented with sculpture, above which, as is usual, is the Egyptian beading and cornice, adorned with the winged globe. The angles of the temple were also decorated with the Egyptian beading, which was, moreover, continued from angle to angle under the cornice, at the top of the edifice.

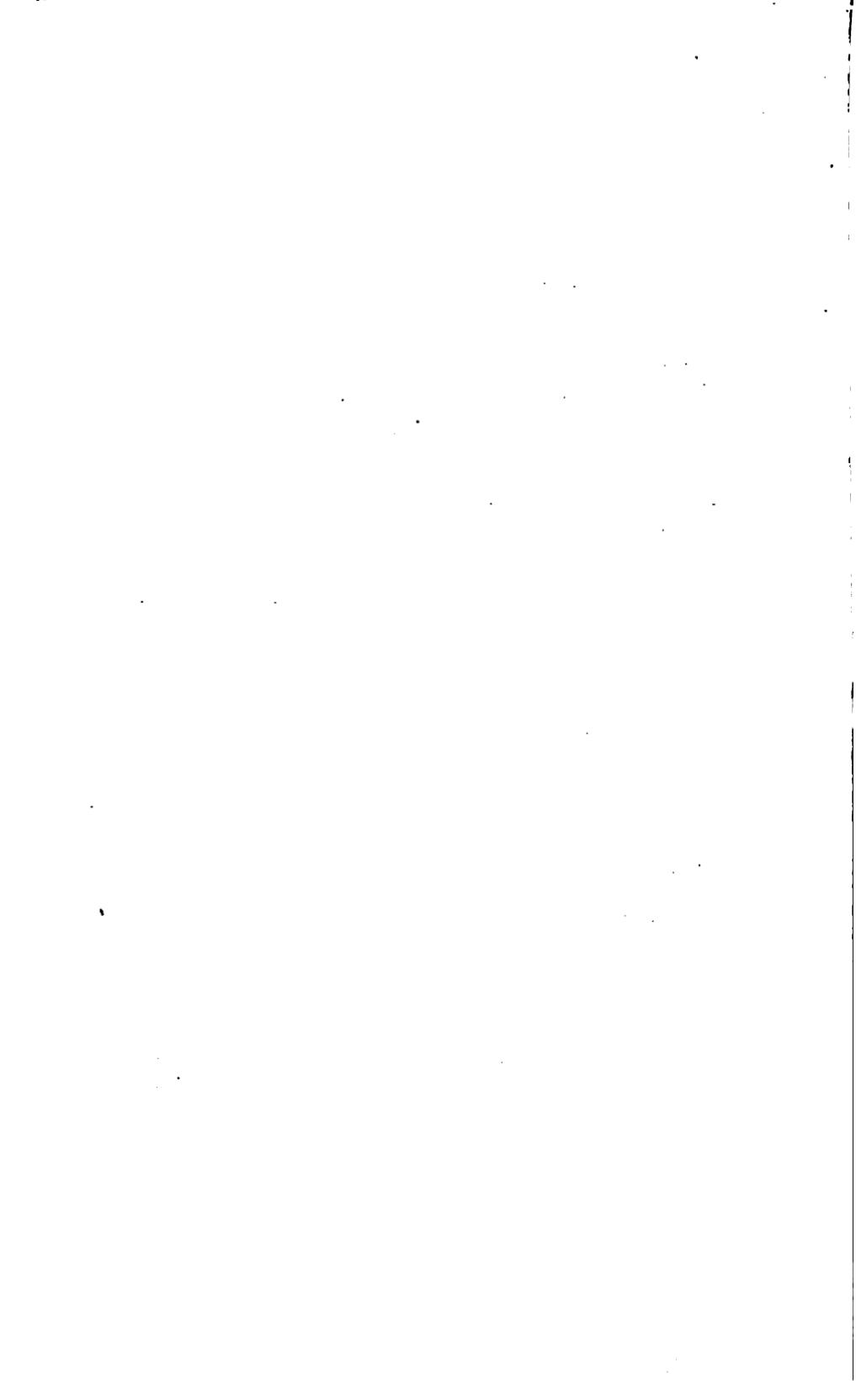


G. & J. HOODS LTD. & A. PRENTISS LTD.

THE RUINS OF KASR EL ZIAN.

London, Longmans &c 1857.

Dark High-Lights to the King



The length of the exterior of the temple is 44 ft. 6 in. The entrance, 4 ft. 6 in. wide, and 4 ft. deep, in the centre of the façade, leads into a first chamber in the interior, which is 26 ft. 9 in. long, and 19 ft. 6 in. wide. A door, in the north-west corner of this room, leads out into the inclosure; and another leads into the sanctuary, which is 16 ft. 2 in. wide, and 7 ft. 4 in. long. Opposite the entrance is a recess, which was probably once used to contain a statue of the divinity. On the west side of the sanctuary is a room, 10 ft. long, and 2 ft. 7 in. wide. The temple, like that at Doosh, faces nearly south; and is in like manner situated nearer to the eastern than to the western side of the inclosure, being respectively 35 ft. 6 in. and 16 ft. 6 in. from the two walls.

The sculpture on the doorway of the façade represents the emperor Antoninus, or rather Cæsar, as he is called, making offerings to divinities, with the attributes of Kneph, Osiris, Isis, and Horus. As the god in the top row on each side has the head-dress of the ram, I conceive the temple to be dedicated to Kneph. The Greek inscription, also, which I copied there, and have presented in the Appendix, says

the temple is dedicated to Amenebis (that is Amun Neb or Amun Kneph), and to other associated gods.

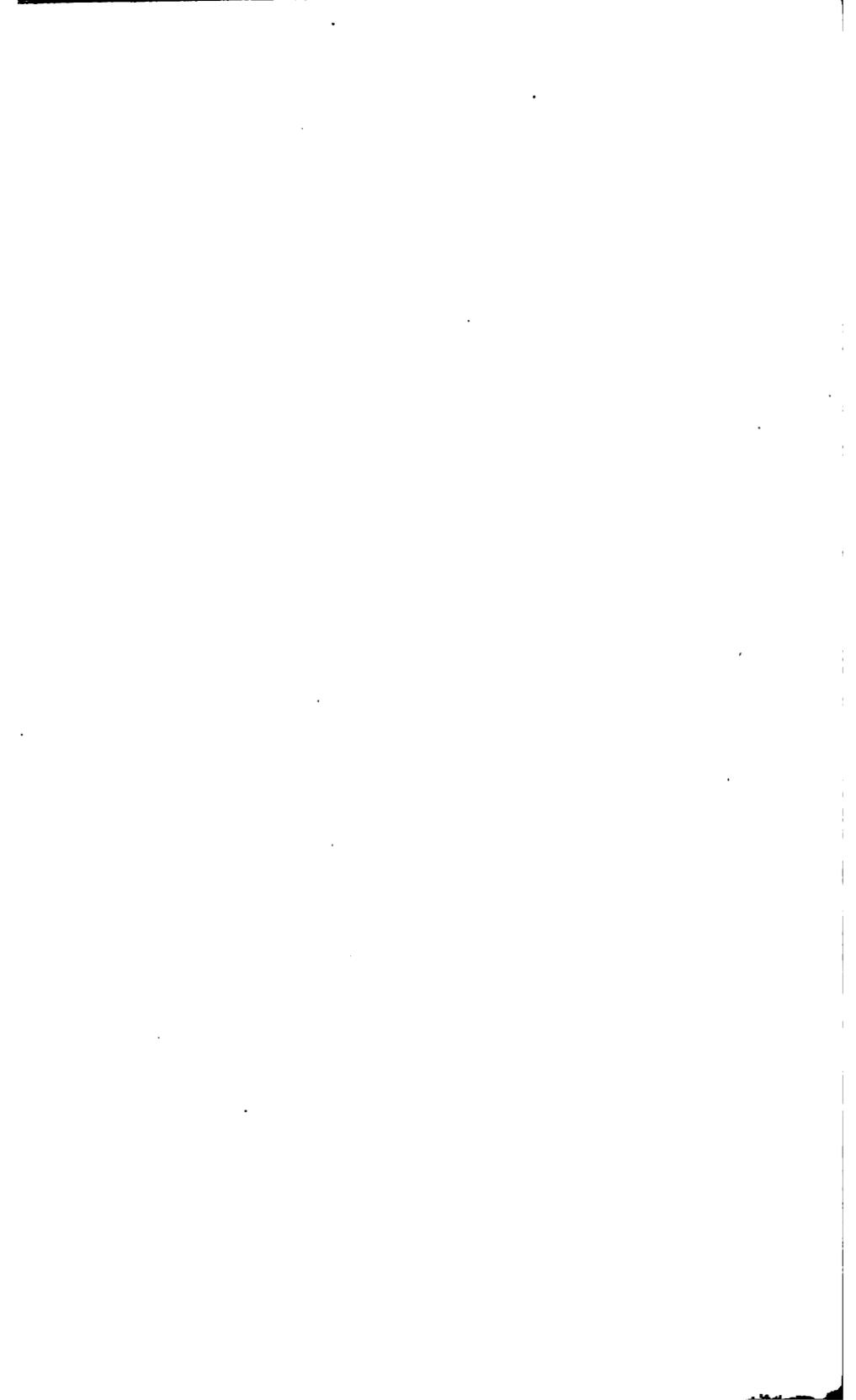
I copied some lines of the hieroglyphics, which are still remaining ; but they are not interesting, except as containing the name of Antoninus, whose name is found also in the inscription.

*13th Nov.* — I left Kasr el Zian, and in an hour arrived at the temple of Kasr Ouaty. As plate 18. shows, the building is situated on a hill, commanding an extensive view of the plain. The brick walls, which also inclose this temple, are better preserved than is generally the case. This plate also is a fair specimen of the scenery in the Oasis, and particularly of the doum trees, which are so common here, and so little known in Europe. The sand has accumulated under the shelter of the southern wall of the inclosure, and has, moreover, penetrated into the rooms of the temple. The inclosure is crowded with rudely constructed mud huts, apparently Christian. Some of them form the foreground of the view (plate 19.), and certainly detract a little from the effect of the two splendid Ptolemaic columns ; which with their rich and still nearly perfect capitals, ornament the façade of the vestibule.



Galloway's Engraved A. Pickering, Lith.

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A glance at the plate will suffice for the reader, to understand fully the distribution of the first chamber of this temple. The ground plan of this vestibule is almost similar to that of the temple of Doosh ; and the remainder of the edifice differs but little from that of Kasr el Zian.

The sculpture on the doorway, leading into the interior, represents a king offering incense to Amun Ra, Maut, Honsoo, and Horus. The principal divinity to whom the temple is dedicated, is Amun Ra. His usual phonetic name in hieroglyphics is accompanied with various titles, such as King of the Gods, God divine, Lord of Heaven, &c. The only name I found in the temple, was that of Ptolemy Euergetes ; and as this is repeated in various places, there is no doubt but that he constructed the whole of the edifice.

The style of the sculpture, and particularly the capitals of the columns of the vestibule, would alone have been sufficient for me, in deciding on the probable epoch of its construction. But the science of hieroglyphics fortunately enables us to read the name itself of the king, at whose expense the building was erected, and

thus restores to him the credit, which he deserves for his munificence and liberality.

If an inscription was found on any of our celebrated edifices in England, proving beyond doubt, that it had been erected by any particular monarch, such a discovery would be hailed as an important historical fact. Hieroglyphics have been the means of innumerable discoveries of this description ; and yet there are some persons, who consider the study of them to be useless.

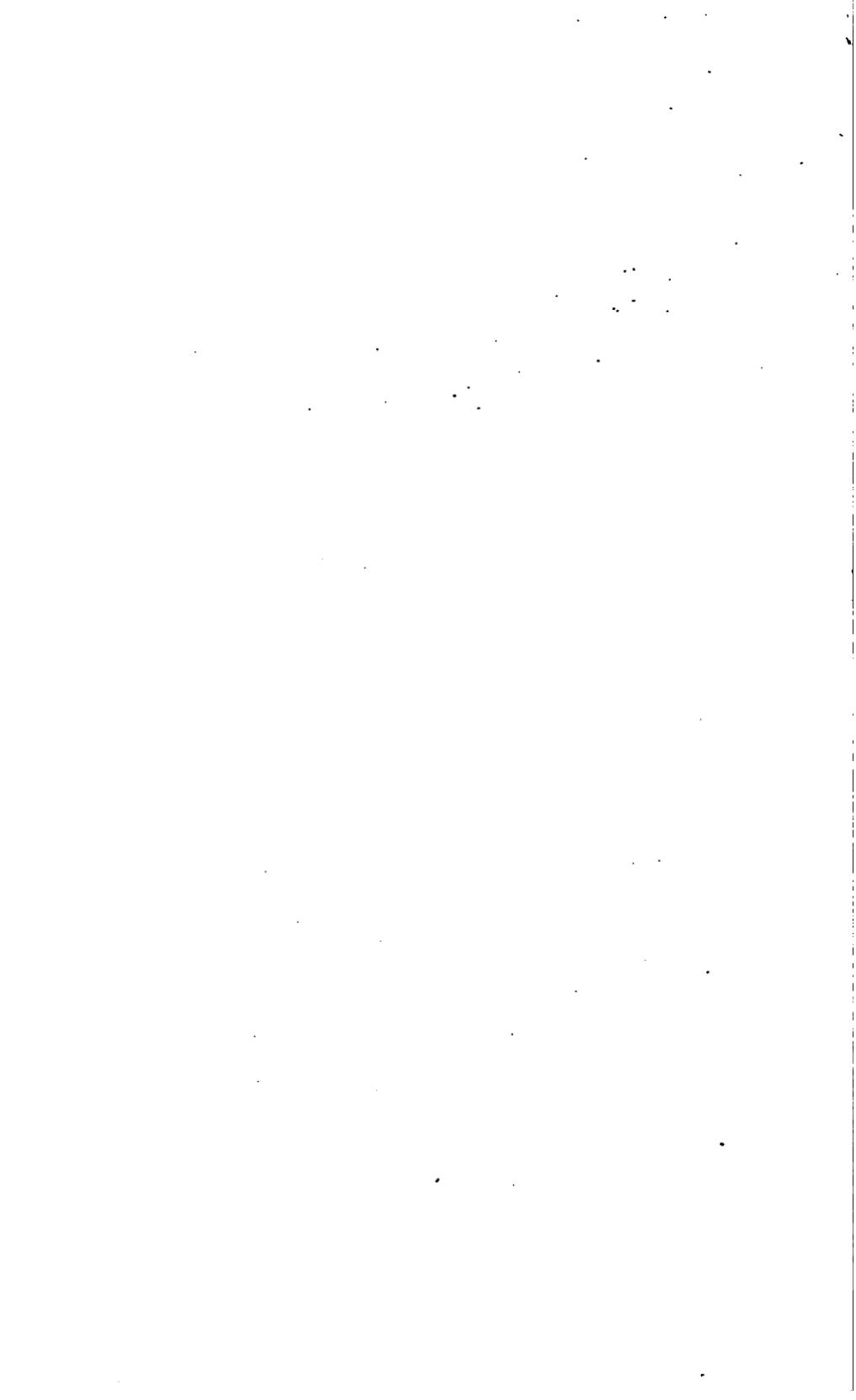
*14th Nov.* — On returning to my tent from my labours in the temple this evening, I felt unwell, and dined with little appetite. Fatigued, out of spirits, and incapable either of reading or writing, I went to bed. I had not been long undressed, when I was seized with a most violent fit of the ague. Not only Mr. Hay's dragoman, but also several of our camel men, have had the fever. I was therefore sufficiently acquainted with the symptoms to be quite certain what my complaint was.

The attack upon me was, however, much more violent than upon them. I determined to stop the disease, if possible, by strong doses of James's powder ; but I was so convulsed



G. A. Horsfield, Esq. & A. B. Smith.

Distant View of the Enclosure of Kasir Quaty.  
D. & H. Green, Lith. to the King.  
London, Longman & C. 1837.



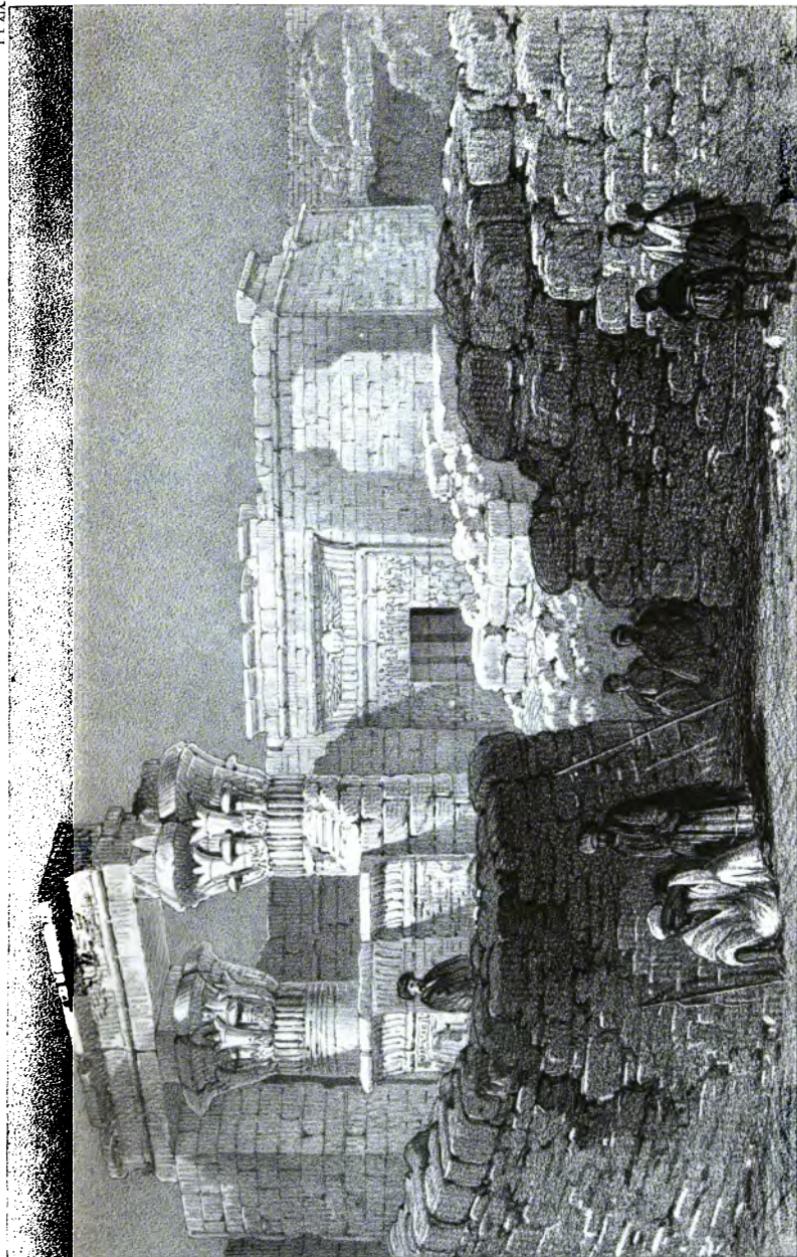
with the ague, that I was obliged to get Mr. Hay to measure me out the proper quantity. What with the medicine and hot tea, the ague itself soon subsided, but left me distracted with fever. I passed a wretched night: my tent seemed to go round with me, like a whirligig; and visions of temples, ruins, hieroglyphics, sculpture of gods and goddesses, and no less divine Arabs and Europeans, deserts, and the bleaching bodies of camels and of men, crowded on my brain, in confused and unintelligible order.

I had directed Mustapha to sit up in my tent until two o'clock; at which time I intended to take a second dose of the powders. I promised him a backsheesh, if he would manage to keep awake. He seemed indignant that he should be supposed capable of sleeping, when his Effende was mishowish (unwell). A slight perspiration, produced by the first dose of the medicine, diminished the delirium. When at last I looked at my watch, I found that it was three o'clock, an hour after the time I intended again taking the powder; and that my faithful Mustapha was sound asleep.

The second dose, coming so soon after the

first, had such a violent effect upon me, during the rest of the night, and the whole of the following day, that it reduced me more in twenty-four hours than I could have conceived to be possible. This sharp assault, however, having been completely successful in dislodging the enemy, I prevented his returning by strong doses of quinine.

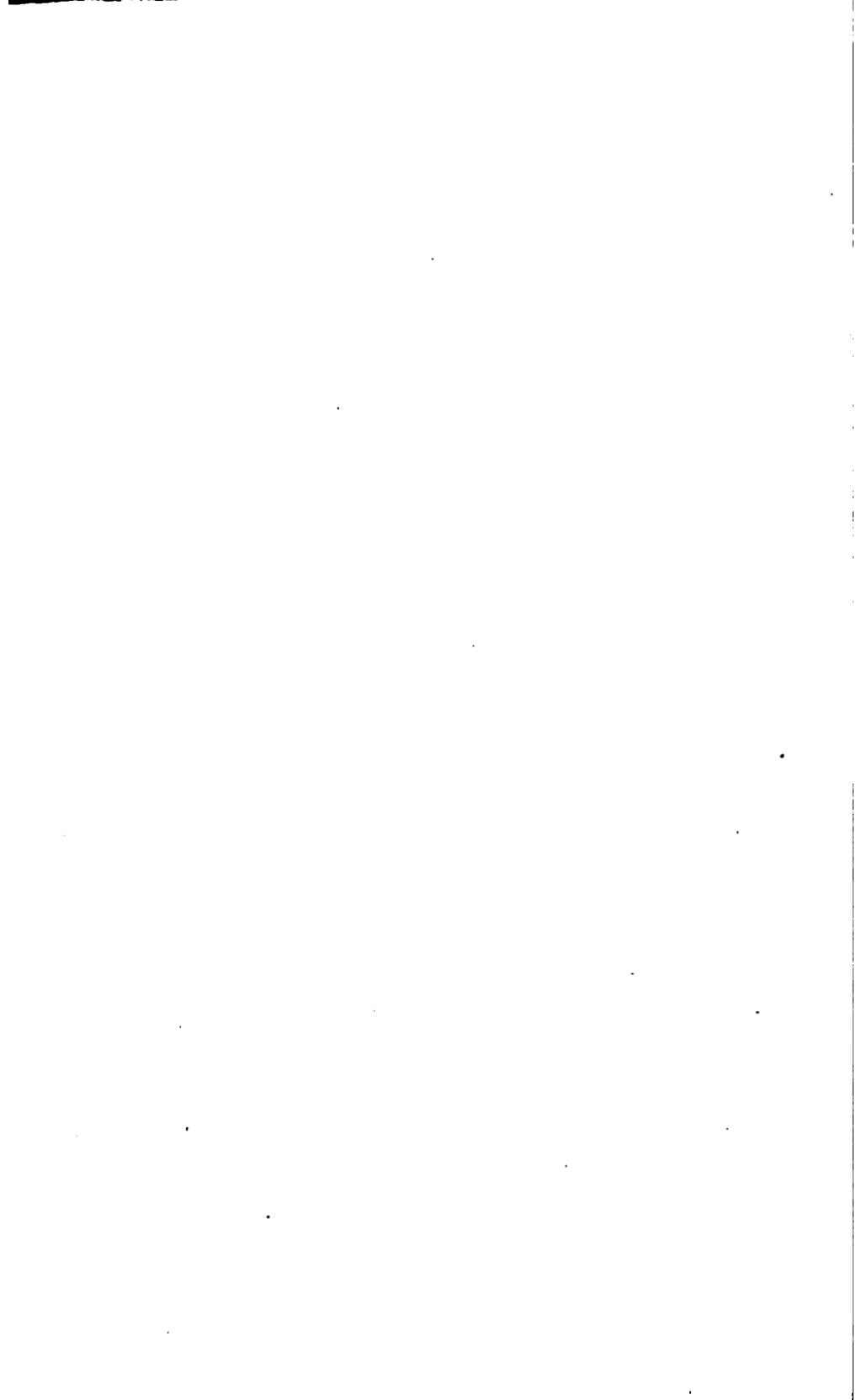
*15th Nov.* — I should have made another drawing this morning of the temple, had my strength permitted me; but I felt so reduced by the fever of yesterday, that I found it prudent to reserve the little force I was still possessed of, in order to support the fatigues of the journey across the desert. This evening is fixed for our departure from the Oasis, and I rather dread the attempt; but, as I feel that I am free from fever, and have therefore nothing but weakness to overcome, I prefer starting with my companions to remaining any longer here. I could wish, indeed, to visit the other Oases, particularly that of Dakkel to the west of this; and, had I time, I would follow the route of the army of Cambyses, and might, perhaps, have greater success in reaching the Oasis of Amun; but I have a still higher object in view. If an



G. A. Hoskins, Eng<sup>r</sup>, del<sup>t</sup>.

TEMPLE OF KHAZUR QASAT.

Day of the King.



artist I have engaged from Italy is arrived at Thebes, I shall set out immediately upon my return, for Ethiopia; and shall visit the antiquities of what was anciently called the Island of Meroe. I am obliged, therefore, to relinquish the idea of visiting the other Oases, as such a journey would require the remainder of the winter, and the heat would then prevent my penetrating into the south.

Stimulated by the prospect of visiting Ethiopia, and with the hope that I should find my artist arrived on our return to Thebes, I left the Oasis without a regret, and mounted my dromedary with resolution unabated, although my physical strength was sadly reduced. The animal's motion has fatigued me less this evening, than, from my weak state, I could have expected; but I am now become habituated to it, and therefore less sensibly inconvenienced by it.

We are encamped in the valley, at the foot of the mountain, which forms the eastern boundary of the Oasis. Our camels have been so shamefully neglected by their owners, that many of them are reduced almost to skeletons; fortunately our provisions are almost consumed,

and therefore their burdens will be lighter. One of them died this morning of fatigue ; and, had we not ourselves brought grain to nourish them, we should, I think, be obliged to abandon both our luggage and most of the animals, in the wilderness.

*16th Nov.* — Mr. Hay remained at the temple yesterday evening, after we left, and did not rejoin us until this morning. On pitching our tents last night, we put up a lantern as a signal ; which, however, on account of the unevenness of the plain, he did not perceive ; and, as he was fearful of losing the track, or passing the caravan in the darkness of the night, he acceded to the suggestion of his camel-man, and passed the night under the shelter of a hill. The man merely scooped him out a bed in the sand, such as the animals of the desert make for themselves. He did not, however, seem this morning to be at all the worse for having passed the cold night in the open air, without any other covering than his cloak ; and although he had been obliged to retire to his comfortless bed, hungry and thirsty, without any thing either to eat or drink.

After ascending the mountain which bounds

the Oasis, we lingered some time at the summit, to take, I may certainly say, our last view of the place; for having, as the Arabs say, got all its antiquities on paper, and having providentially once escaped its pestilential atmosphere, we shall never, I think, by any possibility, have the slightest inclination to revisit such a baneful region. If I had been sufficiently well, I should probably have made a drawing of the valley from this point, as the view, although not picturesque, is certainly curious and very descriptive of the place.

Mr. Hay did make a drawing of it; but I was obliged to content myself by idly gazing from my dromedary, and meditating upon its peculiarities. It was not, however, the towns and villages, the groves of date trees, the courses of the streams, the mounds of sand, the long horizontal hills forming a vast natural wall, the tufa mountain, the magnificent foreground to this view, which excited so much my attention, as the thought of the extraordinary condition of the inhabitants.

It is melancholy to see human beings leading such an apathetical, listless, indolent life; we nevertheless must not call them unhappy,

since they have the appearance of being contented. The hot climate and disease produce a reluctance to exertion ; and nature indulges their want of energy and disinclination to labour, furnishing them abundant crops of dates, the sale of which alone provides a sufficient maintenance to the greater part of the inhabitants. As I have said before, those who are at all industrious generally become comparatively rich : but the habit of the greater number is to take no thought for the morrow, satisfied as they are, if, by a trifling exertion, they can earn sufficient to supply the wants of the present day.

How miserable would be the lot of any man, who should be translated from the rich plains of a civilised community, and compelled to reside in such a region as this ! I recollect, indeed, when I was a boy, meeting with a woman, seemingly quite contented, at a farm-house in one of the mountain recesses of Cumberland, who told me, that for a dozen years she had not seen a village, or a town, or any human beings, except her husband, and a few neighbours and travellers, who sometimes visited her lonely and wild abode. I can conceive even an uncultivated mind happy, when thus isolated from

the world : the very variety of climate, scenery, and the seasons breaks the monotony of existence in the most sequestered region ; and the common duties of life are, in such a situation, more likely to become pleasures. Every one, moreover, feels a certain attachment to the place of his birth : the mere possession of health is in itself a blessing ; and it is by no means to be supposed, that those who are of the lower grades of life are insensible to the wonders of creation and the bounties of Providence. The sun, which lights up the valleys, and burnishes with its golden tints the lofty hills, shines upon them, as well as upon the more cultivated and more refined. The clouds and vapours are their usual weather-glass ; and, as they watch them curling up the mountains, although they may not possess the art of defining their emotions, their minds are often undoubtedly filled with pleasurable feelings, excited by the beauties and the wonders of their native land. They are generally close observers of nature, noticing with silent delight the trees bursting forth into bloom, the heath assuming its purple tints, autumn variegating the forest with its golden hues, and winter covering the face of

the earth with its mantle of snow. The herds in the rich pastures, and the flocks upon the mountains, are to the uncultivated sage as companions. These are a few of the feelings which may cause an European to be attached even to the most retired spot. But the natives of the Oasis are separated from all the rest of the world by fearful wildernesses, in which nature itself seems to be dead ; and are exposed to a disease which annually diminishes their population, imprints on every brow languor and unhealthiness, banishes the hilarity and buoyancy of youthful spirits, and substitutes a settled melancholy for joy and gladness.

Although they are ignorant of, and therefore seek not for, a better lot, yet, in the eyes of a European, their condition is still more lamentable, as he considers them the residents of an island in that sea of darkness where civilisation has not for many ages shed its light. They are, indeed, comparatively exempt from the tyranny of the Pasha ; but then they are miserably shackled by the fetters of ignorance ; and ages may, I fear, roll away before education shall be able to alleviate their condition, and elevate them in the scale of humanity.

Our men seem anxious to get back to the

valley of the Nile as rapidly as they can. Notwithstanding the miserable condition of our camels, tottering even under empty boxes, they have, by singing, urged them on as much as possible. Our supply of water is not so great as what we took from the Nile; for the weather is now much colder, and we can, of course, do with less. Our servants walked the greatest part of the day, as also did Mr. H. and Mr. C., through compassion to the animals: but I felt still so ill from the fever, that I was thankful I was enabled to bear even the motion of my dromedary. Although excessively fatigued this evening, owing either to the quinine I am taking, or to the exercise of riding, I ate my dinner with some appetite.

*17th Nov.*—A long night's rest and the quinine have been of such service to me, that I felt almost perfectly restored this morning. As our route is exactly the same that we crossed before, it is needless to make any particular remarks upon it. There is, certainly, something healthy and bracing in the air of the desert. It has also been of great service to our camel men, who had suffered from the fever. We had nothing for dinner but some cold kid: the desert, however,

had given us all such an appetite, that we deemed it most luxurious.

18th Nov.—Our camels have suffered from this day's fatigue. Some of them fell, and were obliged to be relieved of a portion of their burdens. On arriving at the summit of the hill forming the western boundary of the valley of the Nile, our servants fired their guns, to testify their joy at again seeing the river. Some actually shouted from delight; and many, whose energy and spirits seemed previously quite exhausted, and who were before in appearance almost unable to crawl along, now danced and capered about for joy. Most of our servants have dreadful sores on their legs, between the ankle and the calf; either the effects of fatigue, or, as is very probable, produced by the injurious quality of the water.

Our camels, also, seemed to be making a last vigorous effort to escape this time from the fate which is eventually the doom of most of their race. Apathetical as the animal certainly is, and almost resembling the Arabs in disposition, it is still impossible not to admire it: patient under the worst of treatment; rarely hurtful even to a child; kneeling down resignedly to be charged with its burden or its

riders; and, if even most incensed, offering little or no resistance, but merely uttering rather a mournful than an angry wail; submitting to any weight that it can possibly sustain; and, when at last exhausted with fatigue and privations, it then throws itself on the desert, among the bones of its companions, to perish like the rest.

We are encamped on the skirts of the desert, a few hours distant from the Nile.

*19th Nov.* — Mr. H. and I left the caravan, being anxious to arrive at Thebes this morning, to enjoy the pleasure of receiving letters and packages from our friends in Europe. We had not proceeded above two miles, when an accident happened to me, which I have mentioned in my "Travels in Ethiopia." I had occasion to alight, to adjust my saddle. Not doubting that I could mount with true Arab agility, I made the attempt; but, deeming it necessary to spring with the return of the animal's neck, our united force pitched me clear over its back upon the sand. The disengaged beast immediately ran back to the caravan; and I, of course, had also to return for it.

On arriving at a well near the river, I gave

the dromedary a drink of water, and also took a draught of water myself, which I enjoyed, perhaps, as much as my poor companion. After a sharp trot of eight hours, we arrived at Gournah, and received the congratulations of our friends upon our safe return from the wilderness.

OBSERVATIONS WITH THE THERMOMETER IN THE OASIS  
MAGNA BY MR. HAY.

Oct. 19th		Degrees.	Oct. 26th.		Degrees.
	Sunrise	52		Sunrise	66
	Noon	92		1 P.M.	92
	½ past 3 P.M.	88		3 P.M.	94
20th.	Midnight	65		Sunset	88
	Sunrise	63		Midnight	66
	Noon	86	27th.	Sunrise	63
	Sunset	81		1 P.M.	100
21st.	Midnight	71		Sunset	88
	Sunrise	67	28th.	2 A.M.	66
22d.	1 P.M.	86		Sunrise	66
	Noon	86		Noon	94
	1 P.M.	88		8 P.M.	72
	Sunset	83	29th.	Sunrise	74
23d.	10 P.M.	75		Sunset	90
	Sunrise	64		Midnight	84
	1 P.M.	88	30th.	Sunrise	79
	Sunset	84		2 P.M.	96
24th.	½ past 11 P.M.	65		Sunset	88
	Sunrise	60		Midnight	79
	2 P.M.	92	31st.	Sunrise	70
	Sunset	88		2 P.M.	83
25th.	10 P.M.	80		Sunset	80
	Sunrise	69	Nov. 1st.	Sunrise	70
	2 P.M.	86		2 P.M.	84
	Midnight	71		Sunset	80

## CHAP. XI.

## OASIS OF AMUN.

INTERESTING ON ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITIONS OF ALEXANDER AND CAMBYSES.—MR. BROWNE, THE MODERN DISCOVERER OF THIS OASIS.—HIS JOURNEY.—M. CAILLIAUD AND M. LATORZEC.—THEIR JOURNEY FROM THE FAIOOM.—EL GARAH.—SUPERSTITION OF THE INHABITANTS.—MR. BROWNE'S RECEPTION AT SIWAH.—SITUATION AND EXTENT OF THE OASIS.—VILLAGES.—CULTIVATED GROUND.—LAKES OF SALT WATER.—SULPHUR MINE.—SOURCES.—PRODUCTIONS.—ANIMALS.—SINGULAR APPEARANCE OF THE METROPOLIS.—WALLS.—POPULATION.—GOVERNMENT.—INTESTINE WARS.—CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS.—RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES.—HOSPITALITY.—COMPLEXION.—DIALECT.—DRESS.—COMMERCE.—DATE MARKET.

THE visit of Alexander, the unsuccessful expedition of Cambyses, and the great celebrity of the oracle of Amun have rendered Siwah a much more interesting place to the literary world than

any of the other Oases. The gloomy deserts, in which the Macedonian hero suffered so severely, and in which the army of the Persian king is supposed to have been entombed, added to the uncertainty as to what would be their reception in a district where the bigotry of Mahometanism is not mitigated by frequent and intimate communion with the rest of the world, deterred modern travellers from penetrating to this isolated region.

Numerous were the conjectures of the learned as to the probable situation of that once well-known place. Mr. Browne has the honour of being the first to discover not merely the district, but even the temple, the oracle of which was so highly esteemed. He left Alexandria the 24th of February, 1792. For seventy-five hours he travelled along the coast of the Mediterranean, generally within sight of the sea. He describes this tract as plain, and the soil to be smooth and sandy. Several verdant spots afforded, however, relief to the traveller, whilst weary of the aspect of general barrenness, and gave still greater enjoyment to his suffering camels.

In the places where the caravan rested were

found the jerboa, the tortoise, the lizard, and some few serpents ; a quantity of snails attached to the thorny plants on which the camels feed ; a few birds, principally of the marine kind ; wild rabbits, and traces of the antelope and ostrich.

The 4th of March, having well watered their camels, and furnished themselves also with a copious supply, they left the sea coast, and on the 9th, at eight o'clock in the evening, arrived at Siwah, having marched during this time sixty-two hours. The road from the Mediterranean to Siwah is perfectly barren and waterless, consisting wholly of rocks and sand, among which talc is found in great abundance. On the evening of the 7th, they reached a small village called Karet am el Soghier, which Mr. Browne describes as a miserable place, the buildings being chiefly of clay. This is the Oum Essogheir of Hornemann, and the el Garah of M. Cailliaud. Hornemann visited this Oasis in 1798 ; M. Cailliaud, accompanied by M. Latorzec, visited it in 1819.

The French travellers crossed the deserts from the Faioom. Including two days' repose at the wells, they were eighteen days on their journey, and about 150 hours actually travelling.

This route, therefore, supposing the pace of the caravan to have been the same, is thirteen hours longer than that of Mr. Browne. Such a difference must be attributed to the great circuits the French travellers were obliged to make, in consequence of the immense banks of sand which crossed their path. Sometimes their route lay through valleys containing herbage, date trees, and wells of brackish water ; and sometimes it stretched over immense plains, containing hills and banks of moving sand. They passed the ruins of several deserted villages ; one especially, called Roum el Kasr, contained fragments of stone buildings : this was probably an ancient military station. The Faioom road would be interesting to the geologist and mineralogist, being full of fossils, and very fine specimens of petrified wood. The soil nearer the Oasis abounds with crystallised salt and gypsum.

M. Cailliaud says, that el Garah is picturesquely situated on a steep rock in a valley, between a great chain of mountains, called also el Garah. He describes the houses as constructed of stone cemented with earth ; but they seem to be partly ruined. There are several small ancient tombs below the town ; but their

workmanship is rude, and they do not contain any sculpture. The Sheakh Kooroon told him, that the population of the place had never exceeded forty individuals; that several times the number of the inhabitants had increased a little, but that they invariably diminished again from the time in which they rose above this limit.

The neighbourhood of the place produces great quantities of dates, which the people export to Alexandria on asses. The village has only one gate, and is divided by four or five little streets, or rather tortuous passages. In the centre of these is a small circular place, which serves as a market for dates, and where the inhabitants hold the meetings of their divan. The streets are covered with boards, which support rooms belonging to the adjoining side dwellings, and they are therefore quite dark. Most of the houses are strengthened by palm-trees built in the walls, and are lighted by apertures ten inches square. The best well of the district is within the walls of the village.

On arriving at Siyah, Mr. Browne's attendants, without his permission, endeavoured to

pass him off for a Mameluke ; but, as he did not join in the evening prayer, the inhabitants soon suspected him to be a Christian. After he had made presents to the sheakhs, they were all inclined to be civil except one ; who, with the herd of the people, was violently exasperated at the insolence of an unbeliever, in personating and wearing the dress of a Mahometan. At first they insisted on his instant return or immediate conversion to the true faith ; after a long dispute, the more moderate succeeded so far by their remonstrances, that he was permitted to remain in the place two or three days to rest. But so little able were the chiefs to keep the peace, that, during the two first ensuing days, whenever he quitted his apartment, he was fiercely assailed with stones and a torrent of abusive language. On the third day, however, though the populace continued somewhat intractable, they permitted him to walk about, and notice what he pleased.

Monsieur Cailliaud, finding that the inhabitants could read very little, and that from their ignorance they might easily be deceived, gave them a large firman, that he had received from the Pasha for Souakim on the Red Sea ; which

name they, in their simplicity, supposed to mean Siwah. The imposing appearance of this document procured him a favourable reception among them. He had, however, some difficulty in obtaining permission to visit all the antiquities ; and was not allowed even to enter the town, or visit the lake Arachieh.

Colonel Boutin, M. Drovetti, and the Baron Minutoli, have also penetrated to this Oasis. It will be unnecessary to mention their reception, as the Pasha has made a conquest of the place, and travellers may now visit it in perfect security.

The principal town is in  $29^{\circ} 12' 20''$  north latitude, and  $26^{\circ} 6' 9''$  east longitude. The Oasis, according to Mr. Browne, is six miles long and four and a half or five miles wide. A mountain, called Drar Abouberyk, bounds it towards the east, and the mountain of el Garah el Kamyseh limits it on the west : these mountains, two leagues and a half distant from each other, determine the length of the territory. Its width is, at the most, according to M. Cailliaud, a league and a quarter. According to Hornemann the Oasis is fifty miles in circumference, which estimate must comprise the neigh-

bouring islands of the desert. General Minutoli says, that it is nine miles in extent, and nowhere above two in breadth. And M. Drovetti makes it an irregular quadrilateral area, or five leagues by four.

The eastern district, where the two villages, Gharmy and Menchyeh, are situated, is the richest, being covered with fruit trees and thick forests of dates. At the extremity of the Oasis is a lake of salt water, which extends towards the desert in a north-easterly direction. A lake of salt water, a league in extent, situated about half a league from the principal town, reduces the cultivated land on the western side to a few scattered fields. In the other parts the ground is abandoned, on account of the salt with which it is overcharged.

There are numerous small islands of the desert dependant on the Oasis. The principal one, called Zeytoun, the Arabic name for olives, which are its chief produce, is about three leagues to the east of Siwah. The only land there which can be cultivated is a sandy clay. All the soil of the valley may, however, be said to be covered more or less with an efflorescence of salt, which must injure if it does not destroy.

vegetation. The environs, especially of the Oasis, are blighted and rendered desolate by it.

Its lakes are also of salt water, still there are numerous sources of perfectly sweet water, which flow into small brooks that wind through thick woods of palm trees, and carry abundance and fertility into the gardens. The north and north-west part of this district is bounded by a chain of calcareous mountains, varying from 500 to 600 feet in height, containing oyster shells and other fossils. The opposite side of the valley is bounded by a desert, which rises gradually from the lower ground. The inhabitants stated to M. Cailiaud, that they had discovered a mine of sulphur to the west; but that the jealousy continually excited amongst them in dividing the spoil had caused such bloody and fatal quarrels, that they decided unanimously to close it.

The country contains many sources of sulphureous water, and earthquakes are said often to occur. The heat was oppressive in the towns, even so early as the beginning of March. The north wind prevails; but, during the summer, the inhabitants suffer from the khampseen, or hot wind from the south-east; and, owing to the quantity of dates they eat, or, most probably, from

the quality of their water, they are, through the above-mentioned season, very liable to dangerous and tedious fevers.

A large proportion of the Oasis is filled with date trees: from 5000 to 9000 camel-loads are gathered annually. The olive, apricot, and pomegranate are common; and the land also produces the vine, fig, plantain, banyan, plum, and apple tree.

M. Cailliaud says that the Oasis does not produce rice; but Mr. Browne states that the people cultivate a considerable quantity; and that it has a reddish hue, different from that of the delta. Baron Minutoli also observes that they raise sufficient rice and barley for their own consumption. Water lemons, cucumbers, and onions are also grown in the fields. The harvest of wheat is not sufficient for the general consumption.

Their domestic animals are the hairy sheep and the goat of Egypt, the ass, and the buffalo; cows of a small size and a red colour; and a few oxen and camels. Baron Minutoli states the cattle of the Oasis to consist of 250 oxen, 1500 asses, 300 goats, and but few camels. The little nourishment which the country produces for the

camel prevents the increase of this useful and necessary animal.

Mr. Browne had an opportunity of examining the town; but he has omitted to describe it. M. Cailliaud was not allowed to enter the place, but has nevertheless given us a very accurate, or, at least, a very circumstantial, account of it, which he obtained through the information of the peasants and his own servants.

Its appearance and internal arrangement are most singular. It is nearly square, and built on a conical rock of testaceous limestone; and is surrounded by walls 2,300 feet in circumference, and from 40 to 60 feet high. These walls render the place very capable of a strong resistance; and are also useful in this respect, as they often form the posterior part of the houses. They are often constructed of large pieces of rock salt, and contain a great number of apertures, about 14 inches square, which serve for windows, and convey light to the rooms of the neighbouring dwellings. There are twelve or fifteen gates leading into the city.

The habitations rise externally in a sloping direction; and, as they are flanked with high, round, and square towers, jutting forth above

each other, the whole seems to form one and the same construction, and is not unaptly compared to a bee-hive. The streets are steep and tortuous ; and, being covered, are so exceedingly dark, that it is necessary at mid-day to creep along the walls, or to carry a lantern. They are generally about five feet wide, and eleven feet high ; but in some places they are so low, that it is necessary for a man to bow down before he can pass through them. These arched streets support, as elsewhere, chambers belonging to the neighbouring dwellings ; and they moreover lead so spirally from the lower rows of houses towards the upper, that the rock in the centre of the town is said to resemble the spiral of a snail.

The houses are from three to five stories high. The inner rooms are lighted with small windows, or air passages, cut out in the higher part of them. Often, when a father marries his children, he constructs some rooms for their use above his own ; so that the town is said to be continually rising higher. The mosque is built of rough unhewn stone, strengthened by blocks of the date tree. There are three wells in the town : the water of one of them is sweet, but

that of the others is brackish. The inhabitants are always watchful, each to obtain a fair share of the water to irrigate his field. The population of the district is 8000, according to the Baron Minutoli; but, according to the French travellers, it is 5000, and that of the metropolis is 2000. Hornemann says that it is able to furnish 1500 warriors, which, according to Major Rennell, would suppose 6000 or 7000 inhabitants.

The government, in Mr. Browne's time, was in the hands of four or five sheakhs; and, ostensibly, the maxim, *Detur digniori*, was observed in their selection, though, in fact, popularity was the only ladder to political power. According to M. Cailliaud, the administration was confided to twelve sheakhs; six of whom held the office for life, and the others were to be elected at the expiration of every ten years. There were twenty-two sheakhs for the villages of the Oasis. These were elected by the majority of votes; but, as years were always taken into consideration, many of them were very aged. They deliberated in the midst of the people, all their business of state and administration being discussed and transacted publicly.

Whoever among the people was of any weight, and possessed a little experience, might speak, and give his opinion freely in the council; and such as distinguished themselves in this way were often raised to the office of sheakh.

They received no pay from this appointment, but each proprietor considered himself bound to give the chiefs a few measures of dates and some of his finest fruit. The different parties in this council were, indeed, so continually opposed to each other, that it was difficult to carry any measure of public utility. The sheakhs held, moreover, the office of cadi, and had the administration of justice entirely in their hands; but, though external respect was generally shown to them, they had not the preponderating influence that was required for the preservation of public order. On the slightest ground, the common people had recourse to arms; and the hostile families were then accustomed to fire on each other in the streets and from the houses. Many individuals bore on their bodies and limbs the marks of these intestine and miserable dissensions.

Sometimes quarrels of a more serious nature occurred between the inhabitants of the differ-

ent villages. The people of Siwah despise the peasants of Gharmy and Menchyeh, because the latter do not observe so rigidly the ordinances of their religion. But to insult an individual was to insult a whole village: every one embraced his cause; and a sheakh sounded a drum as a declaration of hostilities. The combatants then assembled to fight the battle with their adversaries. The women stood behind their husbands to excite their courage; each of whom had a sack of stones in her hand, to cast at the enemy, and even at those of their own party who should be tempted to fly before the close of the combat.

At the beat of the drum, small platoons advanced successively from both sides, rushing furiously towards each other. They never placed their guns to the shoulder, but fired carelessly with their arms extended, and then retired. No person was allowed to fire his gun more than once; and when all had thus performed their part, whatever might be the number of dead or wounded, the sheakh beat his drum, and the combat ceased. A sheakh told M. Cailliaud that these little wars taught them to brave the Bedouins, to despise death, and to preserve

their independence. Such bloody quarrels, however, are strong proofs of the defects of the government at that period, and of the anarchy and confusion incidental to a barbarous state of society.

Perhaps, too, says Mr. Browne, it is to the debility of the executive power that we are to attribute some crimes, which seem almost exclusively to belong to a different state of society. While he was in this Oasis, a newly born infant was found murdered, having been thrown from the top of a house. He understood that such dreadful occurrences were not unfrequent. It would seem an indirect proof of libertinism in the women, which, however, no other circumstances led him to infer.

The character of the inhabitants of Siwah is naturally distrustful and suspicious. They are also stated to be obstinate, intractable, of a gloomy and savage temperament, and jealous to an excess. So soon as the young men have attained the age of discretion, they are obliged to quit the town, and reside in a village outside the walls, until they choose to marry.

Whoever, also, may become a widower, is obliged to abandon his residence, and live with

the young men until he marries again. None of the women, except the aged and, consequently, ill-favoured, are allowed to go beyond the walls; and the bachelors are obliged to retire to their village before sunset.

The inhabitants of the metropolis are stricter Mussulmans than the natives of the other villages of the Oasis. When any one neglects a few times in succession attending the prayer, he is subject to a fine, which contributes to form a revenue, that is applied to the maintenance of the mosques; and those who distil brandy from dates are obliged to carry on their illegal employment in secret.

The inhabitants of the Oasis are, nevertheless, hospitable. The indigent natives, and even strangers, may go to the market-place, where the dates are exposed for sale, and may eat until they are satisfied, without any payment being demanded from them by the owners. They are, however, desired not to take always of the same heap; and, “ Eat what you like, but pocket nothing,” is the law; for they are not allowed to carry any of the fruit away with them. They always feed, without compensation, the camels of the caravans, giving them in the morning a

measure of dates, and in the evening chopped straw. They also partly support the men belonging to the caravans, distributing to them, every day, a plate of lentils, or some other vegetable, prepared with oil.

The complexion of the people is generally darker than that of the Egyptians: their dialect is also different. They are not in the habitual use either of coffee or tobacco. M. Caillaud, however, says that they do indulge in the disgusting practice of chewing the latter.

The dress of the lower class of men is very simple, approaching nearer to that of the Arabs of the desert than to that of the Egyptians or Moors. It consists of a shirt of white cotton reaching to their feet, with large sleeves; a red Tunisine cap, without a turban; and shoes of the same colour. In warm weather, they commonly wear on the shoulders a blue and white linen cloth, called in Egypt a *melayeh*; and in winter they are defended from the cold by an *irham*, or blanket. Their arms are guns with long barrels, and straight swords, like those of the Nubians. The dress of the women consists of a long and full chemise of blue linen, and a *melayeh*; with which they cover their heads

and faces, as in Egypt. They plait their hair with much art, adorning it with pieces of silver and beads. Masses of silver, and sometimes small bells, are attached to little fillets of leather, which are united to their tresses, and hang down their backs.

The commerce of Siwah is maintained by caravans from the east and west. They receive from the east (that is, Alexandria, the Faioom, and the other Oases), from 600 to 800 camels, of which one third may be loaded with beans, wheat, lentils, and other dry vegetables ; blue and white linen cloth, handkerchiefs, small mirrors, and Venetian beads. The caravans from Barbary bring them dried meat, wheat, horses, woollen coverings, bernousses, or Arab cloaks, sandals of yellow morocco leather, and tarboushes. Fezzan furnishes them with sulphur. In exchange for these articles, the inhabitants give them oil, dried apricots, and dates ; but the supply of the latter is so great, that the caravans are obliged to pay for them with dollars ; and the proprietors, also, of the Oasis export great quantities of this fruit on their asses.

The date market is a large space, 300

paces long, and 200 wide. Each proprietor deposits there all the dates he possesses, without any fear of his neighbour diminishing the heap. The price is fixed by law, according to the seasons, and their quality: the loads are furnished by all the proprietors of the valley, and by each in his turn.

## CHAP. XII.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE OASIS.—GIBEL EL MOUTA.—EXCAVATED TOMBS.—MUTILATED STATUES.—HIEROGLYPHICS.—EGYPTIAN FIGURES.—REMAINS OF MUMMIES.—BARON MINUTOLI.—GRECIAN AND EGYPTIAN RUINS AT ZEYTOUN.—RUINS CALLED AMOUDNEY.—BELED EL KAMYSEH.—SEPULCHRES IN THE MOUNTAIN OF EL GAREH EL KAMYSEH.—TEMPLE OF ROMAN ARCHITECTURE.—CATACOMBS.—SEPULCHRES AT DRAR ABOU BERYK.—RUINS OF OM BEYDA.—THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER AMUN.—ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.—CURIOS SCULPTURE.—FOUNTAIN OF THE SUN.—THE LAKE OF ARACHIEH.—SUPERSTITIONS.—COLONEL BOUTIN.—CONQUEST OF THE OASIS.

THE antiquities in the Oasis of Amun are very interesting. A conical hill called Gibel el Mouta, or the mountain of the dead, about a quarter of an hour's walk from Siwah, is full of excavated tombs ; according to Mr. Browne there are more than thirty of them ; the general proportions being : length, 12 ft.; width, 6 ft.;

and height, 5 or 6 ft. The most remarkable sepulchre consists of three chambers immediately communicating with each other, and measuring in all 36 ft. To the right and left of these are five small rooms. At the extremity of the tomb there were two mutilated statues of a man and a woman, cut out of the rock; which is found to be frequently the case in the sepulchres on the banks of the Nile. There were fragments of hieroglyphics and Egyptian figures painted on plaster; and there were also a few remains of human skulls and bones, with pieces of skin, and even locks of hair attached to them; but there were observed no vestiges of the usual linen bandages of the mummies, or of the bitumen used in embalming. Baron Minutoli has given a view (plate XII. fig. 10.) of Gara el Mota Shargieh, no doubt the same, which exhibits the large catacombs, and the groves of palm trees in the neighbourhood: and in the same plate (fig. 8.) there is also a section of an entrance into one of the tombs, which has been decorated with an Egyptian cornice and beading.

A few miles to the east of Siwah, in the chain of mountains, are other catacombs, the works of

the ancients ; and at Zeytoun, three leagues distant from the metropolis, there are some extensive remains of edifices partly constructed of stone. The ornaments are a mixture of the Greek and the Egyptian styles.

To the east of Siwah, are the ruins of a temple, called Kasr Gacham ; and in the plain of the Mahaoneyn, between the two roads which lead from Garah to Siwah, there are the remains of another small monument, and some tombs which have been cut in the rock.

The ruins called Amoudeyn or the two columns are situated 2 leagues to the west, 10° north of Siwah. They consist of a building, the façade and back part of which are still existing. This appears to have been 98 ft. long, and 27 ft. wide. Its dilapidated state prevents the interior divisions of it being distinctly traced. The principal façade to the south is constructed of small freestone, each layer being about 8 in. high ; the walls of this part are enclosed in a sloping direction. The other walls were composed of crude bricks, 18 in. long, and 5 to 7 in. thick. There are some Greek letters upon the façade. This construction, which is of little importance, is

supposed to belong to the middle ages. It is erected on a small elevation of the desert, consisting of calcareous stone containing fossils of shells, and is isolated by the surrounding wastes.

At the distance of a quarter of a league north-east from this point, there are the remains of another construction in freestone. The walls of this edifice are thick, and must have been strong, but are now in a ruined condition. The extent of them is 98 ft. This place takes the name of Beled el Kamyeh, from the neighbouring mountain. The present inhabitants have built some houses amongst a quantity of rubbish, the remains of an ancient town. The position of the hamlet is rather agreeable. It is watered by a small brook of sweet water, which winds to the north and west of the ruins, and irrigates some fertile orchards of olive, pomegranate, and apricot trees.

The hamlet el Kamyeh, is near the mountain of el Garah el Kamyeh, which, as well as el Amoudeyn, is 2 leagues to the west, a few degrees north of Siwah. This mountain is much larger than el Mouta before described, and is of a conical shape, terminating in a platform;

The mountain itself is isolated, being composed of calcareous stone ; and, like all the other rocks of the neighbourhood, it contains fossils. At a short distance from its base, there are a great number of catacombs, but these are generally small. The exterior of some of them is decorated with the Egyptian cornice and beading, and the doorways as in the grottoes of Gibel el Mouta, are also built in the Egyptian style. Skirting the foot of the mountain, is an orchard of olive, peach, and pomegranate trees ; and near this is a large pond of salt water.

The small temple of Kasr Roum is half a quarter of a league from Beled el Kamyseh. Its proportions are those of the best ages of Roman architecture, though the materials are ordinary, being of a calcareous stone, full of fossils. It is of the Doric order, and has been apparently designed for a temple. The ornaments, friezes, mouldings, &c., are carefully executed. The building is 45 ft. 4 in. long, 23 ft. wide, and 19 ft. 8 in. high. The principal façade and the opposite end of the building are fallen. In front of this temple are the traces of two enclosing walls, which extended

115 ft. before the edifice. Above the lintel of the door of the sanctuary, there is another lintel forming an arch, and between these two there is a space of about an inch in height, so that the higher of them supports the whole weight of the incumbent masonry. Both therefore must be broken before this part of the building could fall.

A few paces to the north of the ruin is a mountain, the direction of which is from north-west to south-east. The south side, which is the most elevated, contains catacombs of the same description as those already described. At the foot of the mountain there are some brick arches. In the village of the same place, which is called Beled Roum, there are also some fragments of scattered columns and other hewn stones, evidently the remains of an ancient little town. The Arabs apply the name Roum to the ruins equally of Greek or Roman edifices. Baron Minutoli's view of this place exhibits two chambers of no interest, and without sculpture. So far from being highly finished as Mons. Cailliaud describes them, the walls are represented, in the drawings, as being quite rough. The plate also exhibits the adjoining

mountain as spotted with an immense number of tombs.

The mountain, Drar Abou Beryk, is two-thirds of a league east,  $30^{\circ}$  south of Siwah. The road to it lies through the southern limit of the palm trees of the Oasis. This mountain has several summits terminating in a platform, and contains three excavations, the work of the ancients. One of them, about 18 ft. long and 20 wide, is sustained by six square columns. Five adjoining rooms appertaining to it, are each 7 ft. 6 in. in length. At the end of one of these is an entrance into a subterranean gallery, now entirely buried with sand, as is likewise part of the catacomb. The workmanship of this tomb is rude, and it appears never to have been finished. Near to it is a doorway into another room, which is also full of sand. The Arabs say, that an underground passage leads from this chamber to the ruins of Om Beydah, the temple of Jupiter Amun, which are about a quarter of a league distant. Near to these tombs, but higher up the side of the mountain, there are three small Greek inscriptions, very carelessly inscribed on the rock.

The great object of all travellers in visiting the Oasis of Siwah, is the ancient temple of Jupiter Amun, so renowned for its oracle, that even Alexander the Great crossed the deserts to consult it. A ruin, called Om Beyda, discovered by Mr. Browne, close to the village of Gharmy, and about a league to the south-east of Siwah Kibeer, is supposed to be the site of this celebrated heathen fane.

The ruin of Om Beydah is not very extensive; but it is imposing from the large masses used in its construction, after the Egyptian manner. The lines of two enclosures, of a rectangular form, may be distinctly traced; in the centre of which are the remains of an edifice, which consist of a portion of the façade, and of the principal entrance facing the north. Towards the south there are two walls, the remains of a large room, measuring 36 ft. in length, and 20 in height. This room is partly covered with a roof, formed of three enormous stones, 27 ft. 4 in. in length. In Mr. Browne's time, five were remaining. The traces of the ruins and of the foundations of the walls indicate that the building extended 87 ft. beyond this chamber. The total length of the edifice,

comprising this peristyle, may therefore be from 150 to 160 ft.

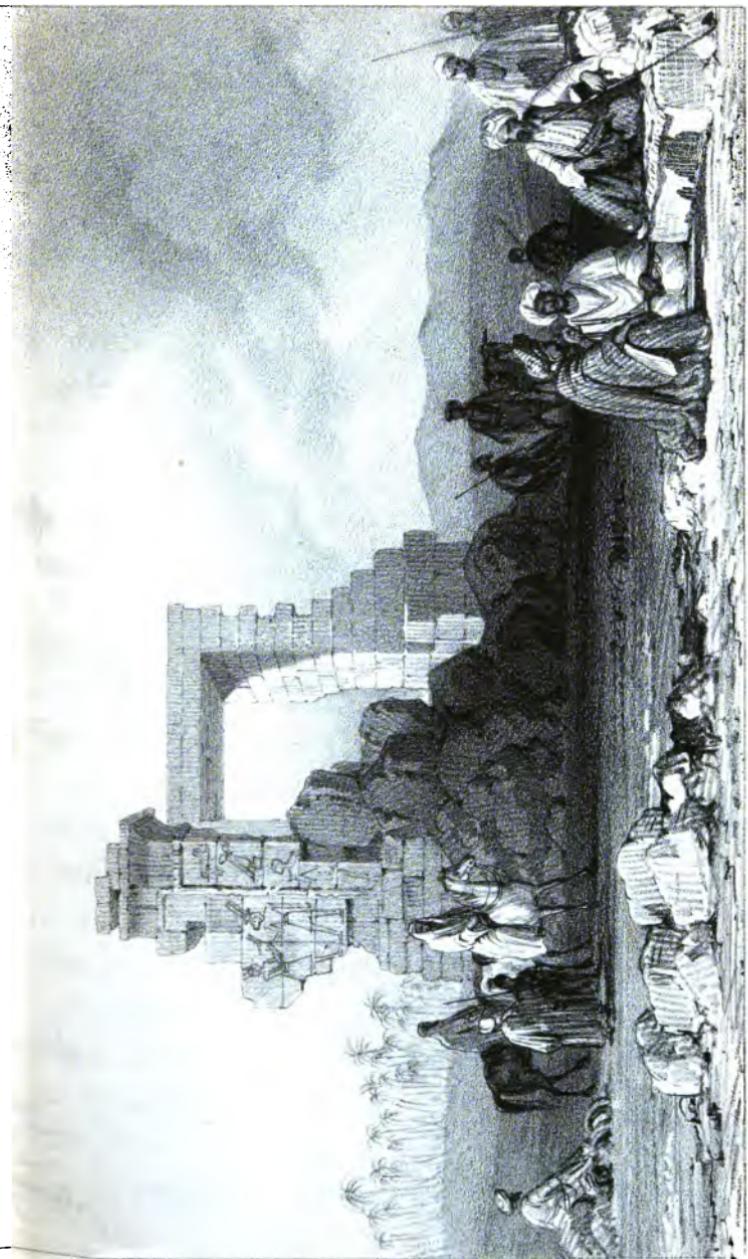
In front of the temple, 23 ft. towards the north, are the remains of capitals, of the lotus form, but in such a ruined state that their ornaments are not distinguishable; as also fragments of the shafts of columns 9 ft. 10 in. in circumference, which, however, were not decorated with sculpture. These may be the remains of the peristyle. The extensive enclosure, which contains the edifice, is about 390 ft. long, and 330 wide.

This edifice stands on a rock of calcareous stone containing shells, and is constructed of the same material. The builders have also used, but principally on the posterior part of the edifice, large blocks of alabaster. On the west side, the rock hewn into the form of a wall, forms a portion of the exterior enclosure. A parallel wall, within this, marks the second enclosure. The ground on which the temple stands, is elevated 5 ft. above the plain which surrounds it. Among the ruins near the principal gate, the French travellers found a block of stone, 5 ft. high; on both sides of which are figures of Typhon, in full relief. The

inhabitants said that they had defaced a similar block to make a basin, which is now in the mosque.

Baron Minutoli's view (No. 7., fig. 2.) represents in the foreground a large architrave, resting on two fragments of walls. Another part of the temple is also visible in the midst of a forest of palm trees, which surrounds the village. But this portion of the ruins of Om Beydah seems to be better delineated in another part (fig. 1.) of that plate, in which the architecture and the walls are more correctly drawn ; and in which the Egyptian cornice and sculpture on the other fragments are more beautifully and satisfactorily depicted, (see plate 20.).

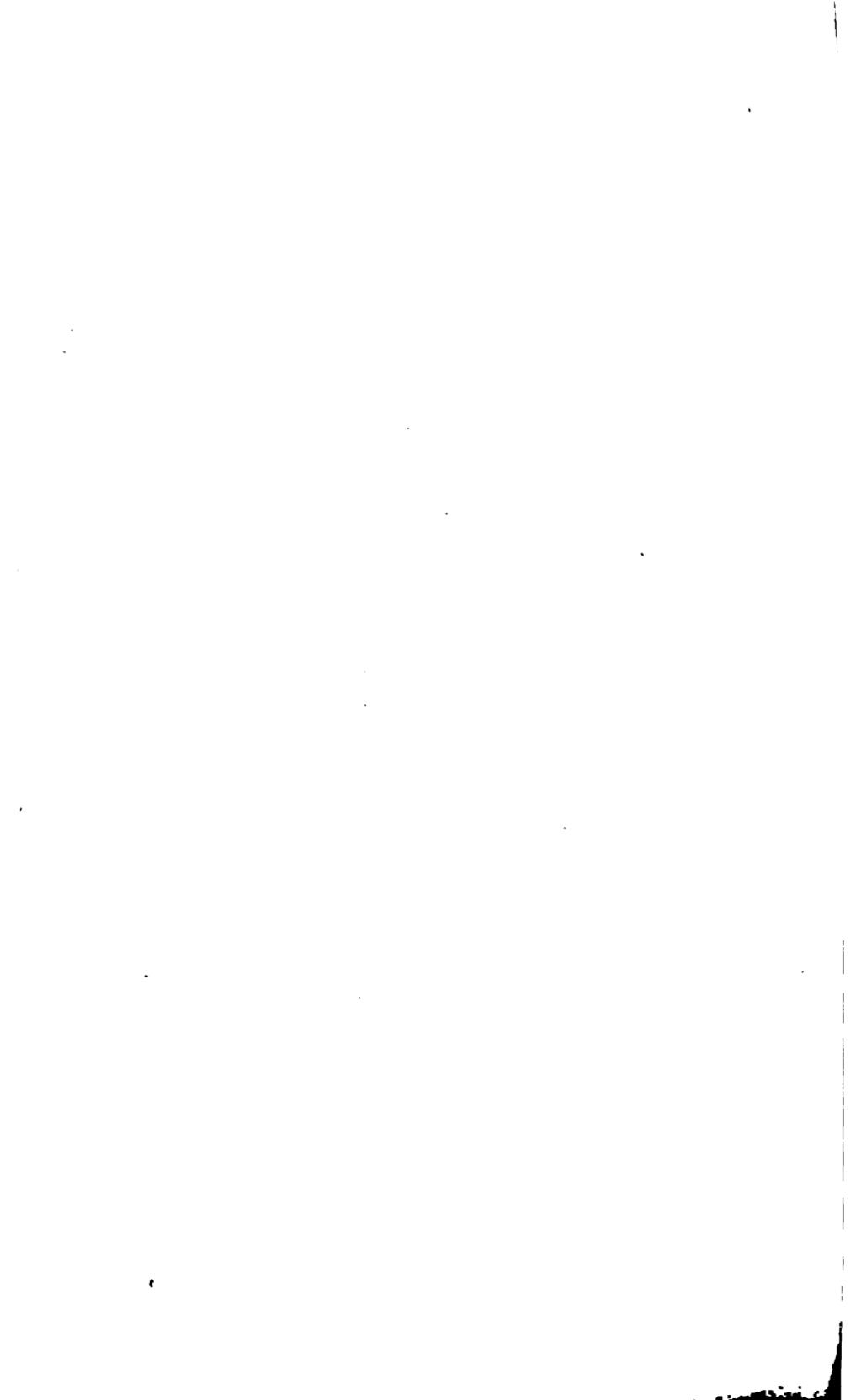
This sculpture, which the Baron has given in detail (plate 10., fig. 2.), represents a sphinx, with a representation of Kneph between its feet. On the compartment beneath the latter, a mitred hawk is standing on a pedestal : above it is a sphere and serpent ; and it has the *crux ansata* hanging from its neck. The sculpture on the fragments of wall adjoining, represents a king, with the head-dress of two feathers, making offerings to a divinity with a ram's head ; above which there has evidently been a globe and two



THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER ANNUM, OASIS OF SIWAH.

Recon. Monograph. A. Norden. Lib.

Day & Night in the Oasis.



feathers. The ovals for the king's name have not been filled up with hieroglyphics.

The interior of the massy roof before mentioned is ornamented by two ranges of vultures with outstretched wings, which are separated by a line of hieroglyphics ; and it is also decorated with stars, painted red. The walls supporting it are covered with sculpture. The lower part represents an unusual decoration ; above which are three ranges of Egyptian figures in procession ; and over these is a long tablet of hieroglyphics. Baron Minutoli has given representations of the sculpture (plates 8 and 9 of his work.) They are very curious, and would have been exceedingly valuable, if he had also copied the hieroglyphics. The latter consist of two long tablets, each of which seems from the intermediate space to contain about seventy lines ; which, if rescued from the destroying hand of barbarism by some future traveller, and if ever the day arrives when the hieroglyphic language shall be fully understood, may perhaps give us valuable information concerning the oracle of Amun.

Below these tablets are processions of the different divinities. The names and titles of

which have not been copied, but, from the attributes, they seem to represent Amun, Horus, Thriphis, Io, Anubis, Kneph, Osiris, Isis, Typhon, &c. The divinity with the ram's head is represented in both plates in the most prominent situation, seated under a canopy; with the jackall-headed staff in one hand, and the crux ansata in the other. This is most probably the Jupiter Amun of Herodotus. From the fact that the composition of the decorations above the tablets consists of vultures, and feathers, and strings of hawks with outstretched wings, and jackall-headed staffs; and more particularly from the number and various attributes of the divinities, indicating a more corrupt mythology, I would infer that this sculpture is not of an earlier date than the dynasty of the Ptolemies. It is deeply to be regretted that no traveller has been, in the Oasis of Amun, so far acquainted with the style of the different epochs, as to decide the important question, when the temple may have been erected. The execution of the sculptures in Baron Minutoli's plates is no criterion; for few artists, except such as have had great experience, can imitate exactly the different styles: and their drawings

when put into the hands of engravers almost always receive more or less of a European character; that is, become more or less unlike Oriental sculpture.

The figures and scenes represented in these bas-reliefs, and occasionally retaining traces of paint, do not seem to differ from what we see in Egypt. The figure with a ram's head is everywhere repeated, and is here receiving offerings, as in temples near the Nile. The god, then, to whom this temple was dedicated, was most probably the Jupiter Amun of the Greeks; and we may venture to infer that these ancient remains belong to the temple of Amun, and that the Oasis of Siwah is the country of the Ammonians.

From Baron Minutoli's plan, (plate 6.) we perceive that the ruin is situated directly south of the village of Siwah Shargieh; and the traces of the large enclosure are distinctly marked in the plate. There is apparently a grove of palm trees on the east side of the ruin, and one, nearly 1000 ft. in extent, on the west. Near to the latter is the course of a stream, which has its source in what is supposed to have been the celebrated fountain of the sun. This stream is

fed by another, which is marked in the plan as nearly of the same size.

The fountain is about thirty paces in length, and twenty in breadth, and the depth is stated to be six fathoms ; it is perfectly transparent, and a constant disengagement of air creates upon the surface innumerable bubbles, which rise from the bottom as in boiling water. Its temperature changes periodically ; a steam rises from it in the morning, and it is said by the inhabitants to be warmer by night than by day. Adjoining the fountain, within the shade of a grove of palm trees, are the foundations of a small temple, supposed to be the remains of the Ammonian sanctuary described by Diodorus (see historical chapter) as near to the fountain of the sun.

The lake of Arachieh, about twenty-five leagues distant from Siwah, is one of the marvels of the Oasis. In it is an island which is held in great veneration. The inhabitants pretend that it is inaccessible ; and they say that it contains the sabre and the seal of the great Prophet, or according to Baron Minutoli, the ring, sword, and crown of King Solomon, the great magician of the East, which secure to the country the

favour of Heaven and the preservation of their independence.

Colonel Boutin carried a boat with him on a camel across the fifteen days' desert; but the suspicions of the people being excited by this extraordinary measure, they did not allow him to visit any part of the Oasis. Neither was Monsieur Cailliaud permitted to go thither. Mr. Browne describes the place as an island in the middle of a small lake of salt water, which contains masses of rocks, but nothing that he could positively decide to be ruins; nor indeed was it very likely, as he says, that any should be found there, the spot being entirely destitute of trees and fresh water. He had, however, the curiosity to approach as near as possible to the place, and accordingly forced his horse into the lake; but, the animal being fatigued or naturally unable to swim, he was constrained to abandon his attempt to visit the island. This attempt of Mr. Browne's may appear to some to have been imprudent. However that may be, it is a striking and not unpleasing instance of the boldness and enterprising spirit of the celebrated traveller. Monsieur Drovétti at a later period visited this lake. He describes it as from six to

seven leagues in circumference, and devoid of every vestige of antiquity. The island consists entirely of naked rocks.

In 1820, the Pasha of Egypt sent an expedition of 2000 men, under Hassen Bey, to make the conquest of this Oasis. The Siyahans, after a short but gallant resistance of three hours, found it in vain to contend with the Egyptian artillery. The celebrated country of the Ammonians thus became a portion of Mohammed Ali's extensive empire : and travellers may now visit it without incurring any danger of being impeded in their researches, either by the unreasonable apprehensions or the foolish superstitions of the inhabitants.

## CHAP. XIII.

OASIS PARVA. — BELZONI. — EXTENT OF THE OASIS. — VILLAGES. — POPULATION. — LOCUSTS. — CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS. — QUARREL. — PRODUCE. — FEVERS. — PUNISHMENTS. — TRIBUTE. — ANTIQUITIES. — TRIUMPHAL ARCH. — SINGULAR AQUEDUCTS. — TEMPERATURE OF THE SOURCES. — SEPULCHRES. — MUMMIES. — COPTIC RUINS AT EL HAYZ. — CHRISTIAN RUINS. — ROMAN RUINS. — CULTIVATED LAND. — TEMPERATURE OF THE SOURCE. — ARAB SAINTS. — OASIS OF FARAFREH. — VILLAGE AND CASTLE. — GREAT VARIETY OF THE PRODUCTIONS IN THIS OASIS. — COMMERCE. — POPULATION. — MR. WILKINSON'S ACCOUNT OF OTHER OASES

## OASIS PARVA.

BELZONI seems to have been the first European traveller who visited the Wah el Bahnasa, or as it is sometimes called Wah el Mendeesheh, the Oasis parva of the Romans. He left the Faoom the 19th May, 1819, but did not meet with a very cordial reception. The inhabitants doubted the sincerity of his antiquarian predilections, and were induced to ascribe a more sordid motive as the cause of his having traversed the desert. But although they received him with great sus-

picion, the tact and prudence of this enterprising traveller, and the conciliatory effect of a few cups of coffee, dispelled to a certain extent the doubts and misgivings his appearance had created ; and they ultimately allowed him to see all the places of any interest in the district. Monsieur Cailliaud had also considerable difficulty in pacifying the superstitious fears of the inhabitants.

The Oasis lies east and west, and, according to Belzoni, is fourteen miles in length and six in breadth, and is surrounded by high rocks. It is divided by a considerable mountain, the direction of which is north and south. At the western extremity, called Wah el Gharbee, which is the richest, are the villages of el Kasr and el Bowitti ; and towards the eastern extremity are two other villages and a hamlet, Zubbo, el Mendeesheh, and el Agouz. Monsieur Cailliaud says, Zubbo contains 400 inhabitants, and el Mendeesheh 600. Belzoni describes Zubbo as a beautiful place, full of dates, intermixed with other trees, some in blossom, and some at the same period of the year in fruit ; apricots, figs, almonds, plums, and some grapes. The apricots were in greater abundance than the other fruits, and the figs

were very fine. The Wah produces also much liquorice, cloves, rice, barley, and wheat. Belzoni says, that near Zubbo there is a rivulet of ferruginous water, which is very convenient for the inhabitants; since by the immersion of their white woollen cloths in it for twenty-four hours, they are taken out as black as any dier could make them.

El Kasr, the metropolis of the Oasis, is on the western side of it, and contains about 800 inhabitants. It is built on a sandstone rock, and surrounded by walls several feet in height, which are principally constructed of hewn stones and large unbaked bricks, that have been evidently taken from ancient edifices. El Bowitti, the other village, contains about 600 inhabitants. The entire population of the four villages, that is of the whole of this Oasis, Monsieur Cailliaud considered to be about 2,400.

Monsieur Cailliaud states, that some rain falls here in the month of January only, but that the wells alter very little even in summer. He says, that the Oasis is occasionally visited by clouds of locusts.\*

\* During my residence of eighteen months above Cairo I only saw this phenomenon once. It was during my sojourn at

The inhabitants of this Oasis are described by M. C. as wickedly inclined, ignorant, superstitious, and fanatical in the extreme. They are also so quarrelsome, that the inhabitants of el Kasr and el Bowitti are always at variance with the peasants of the villages of the eastern division of the Wah. They pillage and rob each other of the cattle that stray, and often even engage in furious contests. Each village has its chief, but the authority of such is little regarded by the rest of the people. The natives are seldom subject to ophthalmia, but they suffer severely from dangerous and obstinate remittent fevers. These diseases commence at the time of the fall of the flowers of the apricots: in March and April they are generally slight; during the season of the dates they increase, and continue to prevail through the autumn. According to

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Thebes, on an oppressively sultry evening in the month of June. Suddenly the atmosphere was filled with these destructive insects. The windows being open, several of them flew into my room. The next morning I found, on riding to a distant temple, that every bush and green thing was covered with them. The inhabitants did not attempt to take any for food, but complained bitterly of the damage done by them to their crops.

Mr. Wilkinson, the unhealthiness of this district is occasioned by a pernicious miasma, which the stagnant lakes created by the surplus of the water from their sources are continually exhaling.

Formerly when a malefactor was convicted, he was sentenced to a fine of dates, rice, or other productions of the country; but Mr. Wilkinson says, that the peace of the district is now maintained by four or five hundred armed men, and by a general fine of two hundred dollars for every native killed in dispute or on any other occasion within its limits, and by an impost of double that sum for the murder of a stranger.

Formerly the Arabs of the desert raised contributions on the inhabitants of the Oasis; but since 1813 the country has been under the dominion of the Pasha of Egypt. This region, comprising el Hayz and el Ferafreh as dependants upon it, paid when M. Cailliaud was there an annual tribute of two thousand Spanish piasters; but according to Mr. Wilkinson the tribute is now raised to twenty thousand reals, or about 643*l.* sterling.

The most imposing ruin in the Oasis Parva is a triumphal arch, evidently Roman. It stands on a platform, 33 ft. in height above the level of

the plain, and 128 ft. in length, being formed of rough stones thrown without any order into the cement; surrounding which is a wall 7 ft. thick, very much inclined, and curiously constructed of hewn stones, placed alternately crossways and lengthways. The longer side of the stones being three times the measurement of the shorter, one stone of the row placed lengthways apparently covers three of those beneath. The cornice, which appears to have extended all round the platform, is rather of a good style, being surmounted with triglyphs and dentils. Above it is a kind of attic, with its cornice three feet high, forming a parapet to the platform. This latter is uncovered on three sides; but on the fourth side, the ground of the village of Kasr is now and appears to have been always on a level with it. The principal façade is towards the north.

The triumphal arch, situated in the middle of the north façade of the platform, is 25 ft. in length. The centre arch is now only remaining, from which a staircase leads to the ground beneath. The façades are ornamented with pilasters. On each side of the arch is a niche ornamented with small columns. A winding

staircase leads to the terrace, the outlet to which is under the arch. There are some traces of Greek letters on the walls, which Belzoni took for remains of inscriptions ; but M. Cailliaud supposed them to be only marks to assist the workmen in placing the stones.

The most curious, and also the most useful remains in the Oasis Parva, are the subterranean aqueducts. There are ten near el Mendeesh, situated a short distance from each other, and occupying a space of a quarter of a league. They commence from the adjoining hill : the rock there is steep, and about 30 ft. above the level of the cultivated ground. Eight of these aqueducts still convey water ; and two others are filled np with sand, owing to the negligence of the inhabitants. Apertures are pierced at certain distances perpendicularly in the rock, to facilitate the cleaning and repairing of the conduits. That which M. Cailliaud explored was 2 ft. 5 in. high, and 1 ft. 8 in. broad. With the assistance of a torch he penetrated 40 ft. ; but could not go on further, on account of the passage being so small and partly filled up.

One of the conduits has fourteen apertures through a distance of  $49\frac{1}{2}$  ft., forming a crooked

line ; the direction being south  $3^{\circ}$  west. The apertures are more or less deep, according to the level of the hill. One of them is 39 ft. 4 in. in depth ; the entrance to it is rectangular, 4 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. It is very smoothly cut in the rock, with holes on each side, to enable the workmen to descend. Two other aqueducts are each furnished with these apertures : the rest have none visible. The water from the aqueducts flows into a large basin, from whence the inhabitants conduct it over their land by small canals. The sources are very abundant, and generally ferruginous.

To the south of el Kasr are more than thirty aqueducts, like those at el Mendeeshah. A most abundant source of hot sulphureous water rises between the village of Kasr and el Bowitti. Four subterranean conduits convey the water into a vast excavation, partly natural, 740 ft. in circumference, and 39 ft. deep. This at the bottom is quite narrow, forming only a stream for the descent of the water. One conduit comes from the south, another from the north-west, and two from the west. The excavation has in appearance formerly been subterranean. Two apertures led to the ground ; but now the place which they

occupied is fallen, and filled with rubbish. The water flows in abundance through three of these conduits, and especially through the one from the south. It does not remain in the excavation ; for the ground being very much inclined, it runs off rapidly. The conduits are mostly filled up. The inhabitants state that they are the work of the Koofars, that is, the infidels ; but they could not say where the water comes from.

South-west of the village of Kasr is another aqueduct, the largest in the Oasis. It may be visited with greater ease, the conduits of it being as high as a man. Two of these conduits were placed one nearly above the other ; the lower of them being perhaps made on account of the other being too high to give a sufficient quantity of water. This aqueduct is now of no use ; the source, an excavation 49 ft. in circumference, and 26 ft. deep, being filled up with accumulated sand. There were ten apertures within a space of 180 ft. The accomplishment of such useful and expensive works proves the affluence and prosperity of the former possessors of these regions ; and their neglected state, most of them being rendered unserviceable from want of a little care and attention, is a striking instance of

the apathy, ignorance, and misery of the present inhabitants.

Mr. Wilkinson says, that this Oasis has several springs of warm water, which, when left to cool in porous vases, is perfectly wholesome ; though some say it disagrees with strangers, if used by them in the summer. The most remarkable are at Bowitti and el Kasr ; that of the former having a temperature of  $27^{\circ}$  R. ; that of the latter, the steam of which is converted into a bath, of  $27^{\circ}$  R., or about  $93^{\circ}$  Fahr. With regard to the real and apparent warmth of the water of some of these springs, a judgment may be formed from a pond at Zubbo, the water of which after sunrise (Feb. 3rd), the exterior air being  $8\frac{1}{2}$ ° R., was  $18\frac{1}{2}$ °, and quite warm to the hand ; at mid-day the exterior air being  $15^{\circ}$ , it was  $21^{\circ}$ , and cold to the hand ; and in the evening, nine P.M., the exterior air being  $12\frac{1}{2}$ °, the water was  $20\frac{1}{2}$ °, and consequently warm to the hand ; thus nearly agreeing with the simple phenomena of the Fountain of the Sun in the Oasis of Amun. But it is necessary to add (says Mr. W.) that the pond, which is about 30 ft. wide, is not above 5 or 6 ft. deep.\*

\* Wilkinson's Egypt.

At the distance of a league from Mendeesheh, there are the remains of a room built of sandstone, 26 ft. long, and 21 ft. broad. The walls are thick ; but only two layers of stone are now remaining. At the north extremity is a door. There are a few Greek letters on the walls, but no Egyptian ornaments. South-east of the village there are some ancient sepulchres, consisting of three very small excavations in the sandstone hills. They are almost filled up, in consequence of their slight elevation above the level of the soil. These catacombs are inferior to those at Siyah ; and none of them are ornamented with hieroglyphics. The sarcophagi are of burnt clay ; they were rounded at the two ends : sometimes a face and two hands are represented in relief on the covering, but the faces are wretchedly drawn. Belzoni says that these sarcophagi are two inches thick, and baked very strong ; the lids are quite flat, and have a head of a man, woman, or animal, immediately above the head of the mummy, and the corpses, not being prepared with asphaltum, are not well preserved. Some of these sarcophagi are formed of two long pots of clay, rounded at the ends and the upper part, and flat underneath. The head of the deceased was

placed in one of the pots and the feet in another. The pots were then cemented at their junction towards the middle of the body. All their covers have been opened, but nothing found within except bones. The bandages were formed of the very coarsest linen.

There are some ruins on the north-east side of the village of Zubbo, called Kasr Nosrany, or "Castle of the Christians :" these are the remains of a Coptic village 1700 ft. in circumference, built of brick. Two of the edifices appear to have been churches : one of these is 36 ft. long, and 21 ft. wide. The walls still remaining are 19 ft. high. The principal entrance is at the south end, but there is also a small doorway behind, towards the north. The interior consists of one room only, with a niche at the extremity in the thickness of the wall. There are three windows on each side of the building. The foundations of the edifice are composed of rough fragments of the mountain. The second ruin is nearly of the same size : the façade and entrance of this also is to the south. The building is composed of a long room, with nine niches on each side in the thickness of the walls ; above which also, on each side, are six

small openings intended to convey light to the interior: the actual height of the roof, which has been arched, is 14 ft. 6 in. There is another building almost square, 46 ft. by 39, which appeared to M. Cailliaud to have been once fortified. It is now full of ruins. The only entrance is on the east side of an arched door; all its walls are inclined like those of the Egyptian buildings. The houses consist of small, low rooms, with arched roofs supporting terraces.

El Hayz is a short day's journey from Bahnasa. The French travellers found the ruins of some edifices of unbaked bricks. One was a Christian church 70 ft. long. The exterior consisted of four walls inclined in the Egyptian manner, and without any ornament: at the eastern extremity were two doors; one towards the north, and the other towards the south. In the interior was a nave; and on each side were three arcades, formerly so many chapels, having a recess in the centre decorated with small columns and volute capitals. Above the chapels is a gallery, which extended round the whole church. The nave is adorned with columns, the capitals of which are a rude imita-

tion of an Egyptian capital, representing in a slight degree the flower of the lotus. Some remains of painting were found on the walls: the head of a horse was distinguishable; possibly of St. George. There were also some Greek crosses, and some fragments of inscriptions.

About a quarter of a league from this ruin, towards the south, are the remains of an enclosure formed of long and high walls, which were conceived to have probably belonged to a Roman castle. Its length appears to have been 285 feet, and the height 20 feet. In the interior are the ruins of habitations. To the west, near this building, are seen the remains of arches almost buried in the sand. On the other side, to the south,  $30^{\circ}$  west, less than a quarter of a league distance, are the remains of a square house, which they considered to be an ancient bath. It is divided into cabinets and small rooms. In the centre is a square well, cut in the rock, but now filled up and without water: a small passage was cut in the well for the water to flow through. Towards the south were some rude excavations in the mountain, tombs of the former inhabitants; and there were

also ancient brick houses almost covered with sand.

These ruins are situated at the extremity of a low valley, bounded, towards the east, by mountains. the direction of which is south-west and north-east, and which extend nearly to Mendeesheh. Near the same place was a small piece of ground cultivated with rice and corn, and surrounded with a meadow half a league in extent, which is watered by a source 25 ft. in circumference. The temperature of this source at eleven o'clock was  $29^{\circ} 9'$  R., the air being  $18^{\circ} 9'$ . Some doums and date trees were observed in the valley ; but the sand encroaches continually on the cultivated ground. The people of el Kasr come to this place to graze their cattle, and to till a few patches of land which they possess ; there is in consequence often no one residing at el Hayz.

Besides travellers and those interested in cultivating this scanty tract, el Hayz is visited by pilgrims to a tomb erected there in honour of a saint, sheakh Ali, who is held in great veneration. The number of saints in the Oases, as in the valley of the Nile, is very considerable. The Wahabees have put an end to the

worshipping of saints in a great part of Arabia, and have there restored the pure Mahometanism ; but the reformation has not yet spread to the valley of the Nile.

El Ferafreh is 32 hours from el Hayz. According to a tradition Monsieur Cailliaud heard, this Oasis is the first which the Mussulmen conquered from the Christians who inhabited the deserts. There is only one village in the place, about 600 paces in circumference, and containing about 180 inhabitants. In the village is a castle, the form of which is nearly square : the walls are 35 ft. high, and about 350 in circumference ; the foundations are of stone, the superstructure of crude bricks. This place is situated in a part of the desert a little elevated above the vast plain, and to the east of it. The north side of the castle is not surrounded, as the other sides are, with constructions. When the inhabitants take refuge there, they close the door with a large stone : then some of them fire on the assailants from the top of the walls, and others throw down on them masses of rock, of which they are careful to have always a good supply. The castle is rather imposing in its appearance : the walls are inclined.

The lands now cultivated are scattered in the desert: the best of these is close to the village, and covered with olives; but the most considerable territory is towards the east and south-west. There are, towards the south-west, from a quarter of a league to ten leagues in distance, several small dependencies on the Oasis, or plots of cultivated land ornamented with dates and olives, and having sources of water. There is moreover an ancient building, called Deyr. Towards the west also, there are a few verdant tracts scattered over the desert.

Mr. Wilkinson was informed, that, about five or six days' journey west of the road from El Hayz to Ferafreh, there is another Oasis, called Wady Zerzoora, which is about the size of the Oasis Parva, abounding in palms, with springs, and having some ruins of uncertain date. This tract was discovered about nine years ago by an Arab in search of a stray camel; and, from the footsteps of men and sheep he then observed, it also is supposed to be inhabited. Gebabo, another wady, lies six days' march beyond this to the west, and twelve days from Argila; and Tazerbo, which is still further to the west, belongs to the same Oasis, with which it is

inferred that Wady Zerzoora also communicates. By another account Zerzoora is only two or three days' travel due west from Dakkel, beyond which is another wady ; then a third, abounding in cattle ; then Gebabo and Tazerbo, and beyond these is Wady Rabeeana. Gebabo is inhabited by two tribes of blacks, the Sunerdayn and Erzezayn. The inhabitants of these Oases are negroes, and many of them have been carried off at different times by the Mohgrebins for slaves. “ The Valleys of the Blacks,” a series of similar Oases, lie still farther to the west.\*

\* Wilkinson's Egypt, 359.

## CHAP. XIV.

OASIS OF DAKKEL, DISCOVERED BY SIR ARCHIBALD EDMONSTONE. — DROMEDARIES AND HORSES. — DESERT. — ELEVEN VILLAGES. — DESCRIPTION OF THE METROPOLIS. — BATHS. — POPULATION. — CLIMATE. — DISEASES. — SOURCES. — MANUFACTURE OF INDIGO. — PRODUCTIONS OF THE OASIS. — CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS. — ANIMALS. — ANTIQUITIES. — SEPULCHRES. — TEMPLE BEARING THE NAME OF NERO AND TITUS. — THE TEMPLE OF AIN AMOOR.

SIR Archibald Edmonstone, Mr. Houghton, and Mr. Masters were the first Europeans who, in modern times, visited the Western Oasis, or the Oasis of Dakkel. They had heard from Belzoni and others of its probable existence; but on their departure from Syout, in the beginning of February 1819, they were apparently unconscious towards which Oasis they were travelling. They commenced their investigations very judiciously, making valuable presents to the Arab chiefs, sheakh Daoud Waffee, and sheakh Hamet, whose influence might have retarded the expedition.

This well-timed liberality procured them twelve camels for their provisions, &c., and, what travellers seldom enjoy in the desert, horses for themselves and their servants. The motion of an Arab horse is undoubtedly much more agreeable and less fatiguing than that of even the best bred dromedary, when the latter is not ambling, but obliged to walk at the caravan pace: troops of horsemen often cross even the great Nubian desert. But it is seldom advisable for travellers to adopt this mode of journeying, as horses require a greater supply of water than caravans can generally spare. Sir A. Edmonstone and his friends were nearly five days in crossing this desert, and were obliged the last night to make a forced march; for, although they had fortunately met several caravans, from whom they purchased water, they had no longer any to give their horses, and scarcely enough for themselves.

The general appearance of the desert, where they first entered it, was that of a vast and level plain; but, as they advanced, they found greater variety of surface, and in some places hills even of considerable magnitude. The rocks were generally impregnated with iron,

and in many places exhibited visible traces of the agency of fire. The sand was usually of a very fine substance: sometimes it assumed the consistency of gravel, and it was rarely deep, except when drifted. The day before they arrived at the Oasis of Dakkel, they passed some hillocks of sand resembling artificial mounds, such as I have described in the valley of the Oasis Magna; and they frequently saw coveys of partridges, in places which were seventy or eighty miles distant from either vegetable productions, or the slightest cultivation.

On the 16th, at eight o'clock, they reached the village of Bellata. Their course from the time they entered the desert, had been nearly south-west; and, having been sixty-four hours on their march, they calculated that they had travelled a hundred and seventy-eight English miles. The Oasis of Dakkel contains eleven inhabited villages, of which ten are within five or six miles of each other. The eleventh, Balata, at which they first arrived, is situated at the eastern extremity of the plain.

The principal village of the Oasis is almost at the western extremity. According to M. Cailliau, who in the year 1820 visited these regions, it is

called Kasr : he says it contains 2000 inhabitants. Sir A. Edmonstone, describes the situation of the place as perfectly lovely. It is seated on an eminence, at the foot of a line of rock which rises abruptly behind it ; and it is surrounded by extensive gardens filled with palm, acacia, citron, and various other trees ; some of which our countryman had rarely seen before in these regions.

The only thing worthy of observation in this town, is a strong sulphuric and chalybeate spring, which the people consider extremely sanative. M. Cailliaud states that the inhabitants have made this source conducive to their enjoyment as well as necessities ; having erected covered baths for both sexes, which are daily used by all the inhabitants.

The water flows from the baths into a brook, and is then divided into numerous little canals, which irrigate and fertilise the gardens and fields. The names and situation of the other villages may be seen in the map appended to this work. After el Kaṣr, el Kalamoun is the largest village in the district. Mr. Wilkinson states that there are 6000 male inhabitants in Dakkel ; but M. Cailliaud considered the entire population of this Oasis to be only about

5000 : from the information I received in the Oasis Magna, I should conceive Mr. Wilkinson's estimate to be quite correct.

The climate is extremely variable in winter. Sometimes the rains are very abundant, and fall in torrents, as appears from the furrows in the rocks ; while the total want of dew sufficiently proves the general dryness of the atmosphere. Violent winds are very prevalent ; and the Khampseen (S. E.), the scourge of the desert frequently blows in the months of May and June. The plague is quite unknown ; but, when the heat is intense, fevers and agues are very general. The sheakh attributed them to an immoderate use of dates : but it is very probable that the insalubrity during the above mentioned period, is increased by the springs being strongly impregnated with iron and sulphur, while the water is so hot at the sources, that it cannot be used until it has been left to cool in an earthen jar. Fortunately for the natives, their springs never fail at any season of the year.

The inhabitants of this Oasis have manufactures of indigo. Sir A. Edmonstone saw one, which was carried on in the open air. The method of extracting the colour appeared very

simple. The plant, when dried, was put into an earthen jar with hot water, and was agitated by means of a palm branch, resembling the handle of a churn, until the colouring matter was extracted. The liquid was then strained through the bark of a tree into another jar, where it was left for eight or nine days; during which time part of the water escaped, by trickling through a small aperture half way down the side, leaving the sediment at the bottom of the vessel. It was afterwards poured into a broad but very shallow hole, formed in the sand, which absorbed the remaining liquid, and left the indigo in solid cakes on the surface. This commodity is the property of the richer inhabitants of the village, and is one of the very few articles of trade and manufacture which the pasha has not monopolised; probably from ignorance of its existence.

The soil of this Oasis is a very light red earth, and produces wheat, barley, dourah, cotton, and tobacco, but not sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. Grain is sown in October and November, and reaped in March or April. The crop of rice requires constant moisture. The principal produce of the Oasis

consists in olives, rice, dried apricots, and particularly dates, which are of a beautiful description, and highly esteemed, especially the kind called "sultanas." Dates are an article of commerce with Egypt; the travellers met caravans conveying them to the valley of the Nile. Lemons are also plentiful, and acacias grow very luxuriantly. Sir A. Edmonstone found one of the latter to be 17 ft. 3 in. in circumference.

The inhabitants are courteous and hospitable to strangers, and enjoy a high reputation among their neighbours. An old sheakh and others in the Oasis Magna, spoke of them with great respect. They said, "that they were really good people, obliging, and faithful to strangers, and richer and more learned than themselves. M. Cailliaud observed a great difference between the manners of the inhabitants of this Oasis and of those of the three others which he had visited. Many of the principal inhabitants came forth at his arrival to meet and welcome him. The sheakhs brought him presents of dates and apricots; and, when he told them that he wished to see the antiquities, they, with the greatest courtesy, offered to accompany him in his researches. Sir A.

Edmonstone, the discoverer of the Oasis, avowed himself to be a Christian: nevertheless the friendly disposition of the natives manifested itself from the first; and he and his friends had scarcely arrived before a sheakh came to their tent with a large supply of bread, omelette, and cheese, which was followed by some rice, and a sheep: and the people conducted their visitors very willingly to the different villages and antiquities. Mr. Wilkinson also says, the people are hospitable, and differ, consequently, from those of the Oasis Parva; nor are they so ignorant and bigoted as the latter, or as those of Ferafreh. Like the inhabitants of the Oasis Magna, they pay a tribute to the pasha, and four or five Turks live there to collect it: formerly four hundred soldiers were considered necessary for that purpose.

The pasha's soldiers are generally an intolerable evil wherever they are stationed; but they might be of some service here, in protecting the inhabitants against the incursions of the Mograhbins, or Barbary Arabs, from whose depredations they occasionally suffer exceedingly. Three years before Sir A. Edmonstone's visit, a band of 400 men made an irruption; and, after a

severe contest with the natives, in which many lives were lost, returned, carrying off with them much booty. It is thirty days' march hence to Tripoli, reckoning ten hours to each day. Sir A. Edmonstone states that lions and tigers were said not to be uncommon in this district. I did not hear of any lions in the Oasis Magna; nor, indeed, should I have conceived that such animals were to be found on this side of Africa, to the north of latitude 17°.

The few antiquities, which still exist in the western Oasis are still indubitable evidence, that it also formed a portion of the ancient Egyptian empire; and that the religion and customs of the Nile were reverenced even in this remote region. An isolated rock, near to the metropolis, el Kasr, is perforated with caverns, which had served as catacombs for human (and according to M. Cailliaud for animal) mummies, the fragments of which still lie scattered about. The inhabitants of the adjacent hamlet had stripped them, in hope of finding something valuable; and the jackals, which abound there, had completed the work of devastation. The Arabs, however, looked upon them with a degree of religious horror; for,

upon our travellers intimating a desire to carry one away with them, they unanimously declared, they would in that case certainly desert them. About three miles south-west of this hill is the principal ruin in the Oasis, called Dar el Hadjar, or the temple of stone. This edifice appears from Sir A. Edmonstone's view, to be situated on a hill, in a wild and dreary situation. The exterior is 51 ft. 4 in. long, by 24 ft. 8 in. wide. In front is a portico of eight columns, 3 ft. 2 in. in diameter. Only one of them appears to have the remains of a capital on it; and the others are in a still more mutilated state.

The first chamber, which measures about 24 ft. by 20 ft., is supported by four pillars, 5 ft. in diameter. As much as is visible of the wall, is traced with figures and hieroglyphics. Cailliaud says, that only the doors of this temple are thus ornamented. He observed Osiris with the head of a ram, (probably Amun,) with Isis and Anubis. The second apartment is of the same width, but only 10 ft. 4 in. long, perfectly plain and unornamented, except by the winged globe and serpents over the door. Behind this are three small rooms, parallel to each other, and covered with sculpture blackened by the smoke

of lamps. These three chambers are lower than the rest of the building: their roofs are still remaining. The temple faces the east; and round it, at the interval of twenty yards, are the remains of a thick wall of unburnt brick, and a gateway of stone facing the entrance. M. Cailliaud says, that the wall was also of stone, that a portico was attached to it in the interior, and that a continuation of arcades all round, supported by columns constructed of triangular bricks, led into small chambers.

Mr. Wilkinson says this temple bears the names of Nero and Titus; and on the ceiling of the adytum is part of an astronomical subject.

On the road from el Hadjar to the village of Aboudaklou, Sir A. Edmonstone found vestiges of a town of greater extent than any which he had seen before in the district. The buildings being now a complete mass of ruins, he could distinguish nothing but a small remnant of a temple, and a fragment of a white marble statue, apparently of Greek workmanship, and not without elegance, although imperfect. A Sheakh, called Ismael, informed Sir A. Edmonstone and his party, that there was no thoroughfare through this Oasis, and that he was not aware of the existence of

any other inhabited tract further westward. Some Arabs had, according to his statement, lately endeavoured to explore in that direction ; but, at the end of three days, they had met with such a terrible whirlwind, as to prevent their proceeding. Other investigations, however, it seems, have had better success, for Mr. Wilkinson heard of three other Oases.

The town of el Kasr, in the Oasis of el Dakkel, is about 130 miles from el Khargeh, the metropolis of the Oasis Magna. Three hours' ride from the most easterly inhabited place in the western Oasis, is a village, called Tenida ; which is now deserted, owing to its distance from any of the others, and its consequent exposure to the incursions of hostile tribes. Six hours beyond Tenida is an elevated platform, apparently about thirty miles in extent, of calcareous rock, slightly impregnated with iron, and abounding in petrified wood.

This platform divides the valley of Dakkel from that of Ain Amour, which leads into the Oasis Magna. Cailliaud was three hours and a quarter in ascending this platform ; and, after ten hours' ride, descended for a quarter of an hour to a well shaded by date trees, near which are the remains

of a temple. The situation of this edifice is said to be picturesque, being in a small plain, confined on three sides by mountains, which form a sort of semicircle open to the East.

M. Cailliaud found that this plain was 371 metres above the level of the valley of Ain Amoor. The temple is in a very dilapidated state and, apparently, he says, of great antiquity ; which, however, is doubtful, as he states, that the sculpture and hieroglyphics are roughly executed, and Mr. Wilkinson found on it a portion of the name of a Cæsar.

According to the English travellers, the temple measures 53 ft. 10 in. by 25 ft. : M. Cailliaud states its length to be 70 ft. The back of the building is covered with sculpture. A wall of unburnt brick had surrounded it at a short distance, a considerable portion of which is still standing, together with a stone gateway immediately facing that of the temple : but our countrymen could trace no vestiges of former habitations. M. Cailliaud, however, observed some remains of houses, and a few excavations in the rock. The temple of el Khargeh, in the Oasis Magna, is sixteen hours distant from this edifice.

## CHAP. XV.

FORMER CIVILISATION OF THE OASES; FEW NOTICES OF THEM IN HISTORY.—NO MONUMENTS REMAINING THERE, COTEMPORARY WITH THE OLDER EDIFICES AT THEBES.—THE TEMPLE BUILT BY THE PERSIAN KING DARIUS.—THE PTOLEMIES.—THE ROMAN EMPERORS; AND THE NECROPOLIS OF EL KHARGEH.—EVIDENCE OF A CERTAIN DEGREE OF CIVILISATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.—HERODOTUS'S ACCOUNT OF THE OASES PEOPLED BY COLONIES FROM ETHIOPIA.—KING ETEARCUS.—JUPITER WITH THE HEAD OF A RAM.—THE FOUNTAIN OF THE SUN.—PLINY.—EXPEDITION OF CAMBYSES.—ALEXANDER THE GREAT.—HIS JOURNEY TO CONSULT THE ORACLE OF AMUN.—DIODORUS'S DESCRIPTION OF THIS EXPEDITION.—QUINTUS CURTIUS'S DESCRIPTION.—PROFESSOR HEEREN.

THE Oases of the Libyan desert, now inhabited by barbarous uncultivated tribes, have evidently from the existing remains, once contained a population whose taste and refinement required the construction of elegant and even splendid edifices. The notices of the Oases in ancient authorities are exceedingly brief, and chiefly

descriptive of their situation. The scattered remarks of Herodotus are, however, of great value, although they afford us but little information as to the earliest history of these places.

When we consider that the Oasis Magna is only about one hundred and fifty miles distant from Thebes, it is certainly surprising that it does not contain any remains of monuments of an earlier period than the reign of Darius, that is, five centuries before our era, especially as it has been clearly ascertained that for fifteen centuries at the least before that time, Thebes abounded with magnificent edifices. It may be asserted, that the encroachments of the desert which surrounded the Oasis may have covered the vestiges of the more ancient temples; but if any temples had been erected in the Oasis during those remote ages when art in Egypt was so widely diffused, I think we should have found some older name than that of Darius, or at least fragments of ancient edifices used as materials for the more modern buildings.

It may, perhaps, be supposed, that the great temple of el Khargeh, and others in the Oasis, were not constructed to gratify the tastes and wants of a civilised people, but are merely monu-

mental evidence of the wealth and power of the rulers of Egypt; such, however, I think, could not have been the case, for we find that the temple of el Khargeh bears the name of Darius, and is the only edifice now existing built by this monarch: and it can scarcely be supposed, that a king who, according to Herodotus, was most anxious to conciliate the priests of Egypt should have constructed so few buildings on the banks of the Nile, and at the same time erected so splendid a monument in this remote district, had not such a temple been absolutely required for the services of religion. The Romans, also, who built so many temples at periods when, if we may judge from the existing remains, they erected comparatively few in Egypt, could not have taken such pains merely to gratify their vanity, or for the convenience of their garrisons: Their object must have been to conciliate the inhabitants, or the latter must have built them at their own expense, in honour of the gods they worshipped. The Necropolis of el Khargeh is also a striking proof of the opulence and taste which existed in these same regions at a later period.

According to Herodotus, the Oasis of Amun

was inhabited and civilised by Egyptians and by colonies from Ethiopia ; but as the period of their establishment is not mentioned, it is uncertain when civilisation first shed its beams on these isolated verdant specks of the great Libyan desert. The absence of lapidary evidence of an older date induces me to suppose that the Oasis Magna did not enjoy a high degree of civilisation before the reign of the Persian dynasty. The monuments, however, prove most satisfactorily that, from the reign of Darius until at least the reign of Antoninus, the religion of Egypt prevailed in the great Oasis, and the church and several of the tombs of the Necropolis afford indubitable evidence that Christianity afterwards flourished in the place for a considerable period.

It will, perhaps, be less inconvenient to the reader, if I mention, in chronological order, the various notices of these Oases made by ancient writers. It might be interesting to bring together, in a more precise form, the various and varying accounts of authors who lived in different ages ; and it might be still more interesting to find from juxtaposition the statements of the most ancient often confirmed by modern travellers ; but, as the passages relating to these

districts are few, and, as I trust this article may be brief, it will not be difficult for the reader to perceive to what extent their narratives coincide.

The monuments afford us a certain number of historical facts, and an acquaintance with the locality will enable us to correct and confirm the historical records; but, as the latter are meagre and unsatisfactory, and, as the materials afforded by the monuments are scanty, it would be an act of presumption in any one to suppose that he can rebuild the fabric of this people's history. It is possible that detailed descriptions of these Oases may once have existed; but time, as destructive to literature of inferior merit as the desert to the more humble edifices, has buried beneath its waves almost all traces of their existence—a few passages and monuments alone preserving them from entire obscurity.

I ought especially to apologise to the learned for taking upon myself this office, particularly as the discussion has been so ably managed by others\*; but, however unsatisfactory the present article may be to those who are skilled in such

\* Major Rennell, and Sir Archibald Edmonstone.

subjects, I trust most of my readers will be glad to see collected, in one general view, the several accounts, ancient and modern, of these Oases.

Herodotus\* mentions a people called the Cyrenians "as having been at the oracle of Amun, and having conversed with the king of the Ammonians, called Etearcus." From this passage we learn that the Oasis of Amun was at that time independent, and enjoyed a monarchical government. He then tells us† that the Egyptians make the image of Jupiter with the head of a ram, and that their example is followed by the Amonites, who are colonists of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and speak a mixed language, and who, in his opinion, had taken the name of Ammonians because the Egyptians worshipped Jupiter under the name of Amun. This passage informs us by whom the Oasis was first inhabited; and that the religion of Egypt not only prevailed at the time of the historian, but that the inhabitants were also called after the god which the mythology of Egypt teaches us was the principal divinity in the valley of the Nile. It was not, indeed, surprising, that the

\* Euterpe, 32.

† Euterpe, 42.

## 258 ORACLES AT DODONA AND IN THE OASIS.

Ethiopian colonists should institute an oracle in the place of their settlement in imitation of their celebrated one in the island of Meroe. This is surely a more rational way of accounting for the establishment of the oracle in this region than the fable which Herodotus afterwards relates \*, of the oracles at Dodona and in the Oasis being founded by two doves, or, as he interprets it, by two black women, or priestesses, who where stolen from the oracle of the divinity at Thebes.

In the fourth book of Herodotus we have a more particular account of these Oases. After describing the Nomade tribes on the coast of Africa, he says †, “ Above these the interior of Africa abounds in wild beasts, and beyond this part there is (he says) a dune of sand, which extends from Thebes in Egypt to the columns of Hercules ; and in this dune of sand, for the space of a journey of about ten days, there are fragments of salt in large masses upon the hills ; and at the top of each hill, from the midst of the salt, cold and sweet water rises. Round this water resides the last race towards the desert ; and beyond the region inhabited by wild beasts, ten

\* Euterpe, 55.

† Melpomene, 181.

days' journey from Thebes, are the Ammonians, who have a temple from the Theban Jupiter. There is to them also a peculiar fountain of water, which at sunrise is tepid ; at the time men assemble in the market-place it is colder, and after mid-day very cold : at that time they irrigate their gardens. As the evening draws on, the cold diminishes until sunset ; the water then becomes tepid, and continues to rise in temperature until midnight, when, being very hot, it boils. After midnight is past, it gradually cools down until morning. It is called the Fountain of the Sun."

At the rate of about 50 miles per day, the journey from Thebes to the Oasis of Amun might be accomplished in the space of ten days. Herodotus's description of sweet water rising among the salt rocks is confirmed by the narratives of all the travellers who have visited the Oasis of Siwah. The Egyptians, unacquainted with the nature of hot springs, may have considered as a miracle what, in fact, merely arose from the state of the water contrasted with the state of the atmosphere. Water which may be of a degree of warmth exceeding that of the air at sunrise, would necessarily feel colder and colder towards mid-day, if its temperature was not

affected by the great increasing heat of the surrounding atmosphere; and its comparative warmth at midnight would be easily exaggerated to boiling heat before the description of it had travelled to Egypt. This account of the water boiling at midnight is, however, confirmed by Diodorus\* and Quintus Curtius†; and Pliny says ‡, “*Jovis Hammonis fons interdiu frigidus, noctibus fervet.*” Pliny also states (lib. v. ch. v.) that the distance of this fountain and the oracle of Amun from Cyrene is CCCC.M. passuum. Herodotus§ has also recorded an historical event which gives an additional interest to these regions. Cambyses, whose hatred to the gods was only equalled, or more probably caused, by his intemperance, “on arriving at Thebes before proceeding into Ethiopia, selected from his army 50,000 men, and these he ordered to enslave the Ammonians, and burn the oracular temple of Jupiter. The expedition, being provided with guides, marched from Thebes, and is known to have arrived at the city of Oasi, inhabited by those Samians

\* Diodorus, lib. xvii. vol. ii. p. 199.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. iv. chap. vii.

‡ Pliny, lib. ii. ch. ciii. § Thalia, 25 and 26.

who are said to be of the *Æschrian* tribe. These people are at the distance of seven days' journey from Thebes, over a sandy country, and the place is called the Island of the Blest. It is said that the army of Cambyses arrived at this district; but what became of it afterwards, the Ammonians, and those who have information from them, only can say, since they neither arrived among the Ammonians nor returned back. The Ammonians themselves state, that, as the Persians were advancing from this Oasis, through the sands, against the same Ammonians, and had halted to refresh themselves with food, half way between themselves and the Oasis, a great and violent south wind arose, which, raising up hills of sand, overwhelmed them, and that they in this manner disappeared." This is the only notice Herodotus has given of the Oasis Magna; and from the quotation we may, I think, with some probability, infer, that the Oasis Magna was then of less importance than Siwah; for, as Herodotus states that the great object of Cambyses was to subdue the Ammonians and destroy their celebrated temple, it is probable that the former was not of sufficient importance to provoke the wrath of the Persian king, and that it contained few or

no temples to destroy. At the same time it must be allowed, that if the Oasis Magna did contain temples, they could scarcely rival in importance the one containing the celebrated oracle of Jupiter, which two centuries afterwards attracted even Alexander, and was therefore an object not unworthy of the expedition of Cambyses. The hills of light moving sand are so numerous and extensive in the desert near Siwah, that caravans, being unable to cross them, are now often obliged to deviate from their direct course. But it is difficult to conceive the possibility of a whole army being destroyed by a simoom : it is much more probable that the guides deceived them, and sacrificed their lives for the preservation of their country.

The journey of Alexander to the Oasis of Siwah, to consult the celebrated oracle of Amun, has given additional interest to these regions. The Macedonian hero, after defeating the Persians at the river Granicus, subduing the greater part of Asia Minor, and besieging and taking Tyre and Gaza, entered into Egypt. The Egyptians, weary of the Persian yoke, hastened in crowds to meet him. Memphis opened its gates to the conqueror, and the trea-

sures of King Darius were surrendered to him. The monuments of Egypt bear his name in hieroglyphics, the restoration of many edifices being executed at his expense. Alexander, however, evinced his reverence for the religion of the Nile in a manner more congenial to his character and disposition. An expedition to the Oasis, containing the oracle of Amun, presented difficulties which alone were sufficient to excite the courage and ambition of the Macedonian hero. After worshipping with the high priest Jaddua, the true God at Jerusalem, he determined to penetrate to the holiest of holies of the great Egyptian divinity. Diodorus and Quintus Curtius have given us most interesting descriptions of these regions. Diodorus says, "Having settled his affairs in Egypt, Alexander undertook a journey to the temple of Amun, to consult the god there. When he was in the midst of his journey he was met by ambassadors of Cyrene, who presented him with a crown and other rich gifts, among which were 300 war horses, and five splendid teams of chariot horses. These he accepted, and made a league of peace and amity with them; and then, with those that attended him, went forward on

his journey towards the sacred region. When he came to the parched and dry deserts, (for he had taken water with him,) he passed through a region which was nothing but an immense expanse of sand. After the fourth day their water was spent, so that they were reduced to extreme distress. While they were in a state of great dejection, a sudden and unexpected shower of rain falling, supplied their present necessities; which unlooked-for preservation he imputed to the protecting providence of the gods. Having furnished themselves out of a certain cavity with as much water as was sufficient for four days, in that time they passed over this parched desert; but as there was no visible path, by reason of the great mass of sand, those who led the way reported to the king that there were crows, which, appearing on the right hand, were directing them the way to the sacred region; which the king taking as a happy omen, and concluding that his coming was grateful as well as acceptable to the god, went forward with ardour. The next place he came to was called the Bitter Lake: having travelled thence a hundred fur- longs, he passed by what are called the cities of Amun, and in one day's journey more came. to

the sacred grove of the god. The district around this temple is encircled by a dry and sandy desert, contributing nothing to the support of man ; but the district itself, which is fifty fur- longs broad and as many long, is full of pleasant fountains, and watered with running streams, and abounding with all sorts of trees, and especially with fruit trees. The places immediately round it are dry and scorching, yet to all that live there the heavens afford a most healthy climate. It is reported that this temple was founded by Danaus the Egyptian.

“ Towards the south and west of the sacred region of the god, the Ethiopians dwell ; towards the north, the Nomade nation of the Libyans ; and towards the midland countries, the Nasamenes. The Ammoni, the inhabitants of the sacred grove, live in villages. In the middle of their district is a castle fortified with three walls : within the first inclosure stands the palace of the ancient kings ; within the second the gynæcæum, where were the apartments for the wives, children, and kindred of the prince, and the stations of the guards of the palace ; as also the temple of the god, and the sacred fountain wherein they washed the offer-

ings. Within the third are the lodgings of the spearmen, and guard houses of those who attend upon the prince. Not far beyond the precincts of the castle stands another temple of Amun, shaded round with many large trees; next to which is a fountain called, from its natural effects, the fountain of the sun; as the water ever varies in an extraordinary manner according to the hours of the day. For about sunrising it is lukewarm; afterwards, as the day advances, it becomes gradually colder and colder every hour, till the noon-day heat, at which time it is at the lowest temperature; thenceforward, till evening, the cold abates by degrees; and as night advances, it rises in warmth until midnight; from which time it cools by degrees till sunrising, when it is lukewarm again as before. The image of the god is also ornamented with emeralds and other stones, and delivers his oracles in a very singular manner: for he is carried about in a golden ship upon the shoulders of eighty priests, who go without hesitation to whatever place the god, by signs of the head, directs the procession. Then follows a great multitude of matrons and young virgins, singing pæans the whole way, and setting forth the

praises of the god in a hymn composed after the style of their country.

“ When Alexander was introduced by the priests into the temple, and into the presence of the god, an aged man of the prophets approached him, and said, “ Hail, my son, and this title take from the god himself.” To whom he made answer, “ I accept it, O father, and if you will make me lord of the whole world, yours I will henceforth be called.” Upon which the priest approached the altar, and when the men who were supporting the image moved forward at what was appointed as certain indications of a voice, he (the prophet) declared, “ that the god would certainly bestow upon him what he desired.” Alexander then said, “ I entreat thee, O god, that thou wouldest let me know what I have yet to inquire, whether I have executed justice upon all my father’s murderers, or whether any have escaped ;” at which the prophet cried out, “ Express thyself differently ;” for he assured him that no mortal could injure his parent, but that all the murderers of Philip had suffered punishment. He added further, that his wonderful successes and prosperous achievements were evidences of his divine birth :

for that as, according to the oracular responses, he had ever been, so should he ever remain, unconquered. Alexander then, having honoured the god with magnificent dedications, returned to Egypt."

The description of this celebrated expedition, and of the Oasis which Quintus Curtius has given us, confirms in many respects that of Diodorus; but as the subject is interesting, I think it better to lay a full translation of it before the reader. Quintus Curtius says, " Every thing being arranged in Egypt so as to change none of the national institutions of the Egyptians, Alexander determined to go to the oracle of Jupiter Amun. A march was to be encountered scarcely to be borne by those who are well prepared for it, even when they may be few in number. There was a want of water both in the ground and in the atmosphere: the sands lie barren, which, when the exhalation of the sun inflames, and the glowing ground burns the feet, an intolerable heat arises: and they had to contend not only with the heat and dryness of the region, but also with a very strong description of gravel sand, which, being uncommonly deep and yielding to the footsteps, is

hardly traversable. But his courage was incited by a great desire of approaching Jupiter, whom he, not content with human eminence, either believed to be, or wished to be believed to be, the author of his birth. Therefore, with those whom he had determined to take with him, he descended by the stream to the lake Mareotis.

“ There the ambassadors of Cyrene brought gifts to him, begging for peace, and that he would visit their cities. Alexander, having accepted the gifts and cemented their friendship, continued to follow up his enterprise. And, indeed, during the first and second day, the labour appeared tolerable, the vast and naked solitudes not being as yet entered : the land, however, being even then barren and parched. But when the plains opened out which were covered with deep sand, they, entering as it were an immense sea, looked around for the general indications of land. Not a tree, not a vestige of cultivated ground, appeared. Even the water which the camels carried in skins failed them, and there was none to be found in the parched soil and burning sands. Moreover, the sun had parched every thing ; all was dry and burnt up, when suddenly,— whether it was a gift of the gods

or an accidental occurrence,—the clouds, spreading over the heavens, concealed the sun; which was a very great relief to those oppressed with the heat, although they still remained in want of water. But when the clouds discharged a very abundant shower, every one collected it for himself; those who were impatient from thirst receiving it even by their open mouths. Four days they wandered through vast solitudes; and they were not far from the seat of the oracle, when many ravens met the army, preceding the van by a gentle flight, and when the army advanced slowly, these settled on the ground: at other times they raised themselves on their wings, thus as it were preceding them and showing them the way. At length they arrived at the temple consecrated to the god. This temple, wonderful to relate, being placed among vast solitudes, is so covered on every side by surrounding foliage, that the sun can scarcely penetrate the dense shade, and many fountains of sweet waters flowing in every direction nourish the groves. Also the wonderful temperature of the climate, similar to the genial warmth of spring, is equally salubrious through all the seasons of the year. The nearest inhabitants

of the region towards the east are certain Ethiopians. The Arabs, called Troglodytes, whose territory extends to the Red Sea, are towards the south. As the land inclines towards the west, other Ethiopians dwell who are called Sienites. To the north are the Nasamones, a people of the Syrtes, living upon the plunder of vessels; inasmuch as they block up the seacoast, and take possession of vessels which may be forsaken by the tide in the shallows they themselves are acquainted with. The inhabitants of the grove, which they call of Amun, live in scattered huts, and have the centre of the grove for a fort, as it is surrounded by a treble wall. The first fortification inclosed the ancient palace of the kings: within the next their wives, children, and concubines dwell. Here, also, is the oracle of the god. In the last fortification were the dwellings of the guard and armed men. There is also another grove of Amun, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the fountain of the sun. About sunrise it is lukewarm; in the middle of the day, when the heat is excessive, it is cold; towards evening it becomes warm; at midnight it is hot and boiling; as the night advances towards daylight,

the nocturnal heat is much diminished, until, at sunrise, it sinks to its former tepid state.

“ That which they worship for a god has not the same effigy which artists have commonly given to the gods. The form of it, as far as the navel, is like a ram formed of a collection of emeralds and gems.\* When an answer is sought for, the priests carry it in a gilded vessel, with many silver goblets hanging from each side of the vessel. Matrons and virgins follow, singing, according to the custom of the country, a certain rude song, by which they imagine they can propitiate Jupiter to deliver an unerring oracle. On this occasion the oldest of the priests calls the king, who had approached, filius, affirming that Jupiter his parent gave him this name. He then, as one forgetful of human lot, says that he received the name and acknowledged the relationship; after which he asked whether his father, according to the fates, might give him the empire of the whole world. The prophet, inclined to flatter him on this point also, asserted that he should be the ruler of all the earth. Afterwards he pressed the question,

\* Some of the coins of Alexander have the ram's head and the persea. — Mionnet, *Médailles Antiques*, vol. i. p. 517.

whether all the murderers of his father had suffered punishment. The priest denies that his parent could be injured by the wickedness of any one, but states that all the murderers of Philip had suffered punishment. He added, that he should be unconquered until he should depart unto the gods. Having offered sacrifice, he gave gifts to the priests and to the god, and granted permission to his friends also to consult Jupiter. They asked nothing more than whether he would sanction them in the worshipping of their king with divine honors. The priest answered that it would be acceptable to Jupiter, that they should worship their victorious king with divine honors. To one estimating correctly and properly the faith of an oracle, these answers might have appeared truly vain; but fortune makes those whom she constrains to put confidence in herself alone, to be in a great measure desirous of glory rather than equal to it. Therefore, Alexander, not only allowed himself to be called the son of Jupiter, but even commanded it: and diminished, while he wished to increase by such an appellation, the fame of his exploits. And the Macedonians, accustomed

indeed to royal command, but with greater appearance of liberty than other nations, showed their aversion to this seeking after an immortal origin more obstinately than comported either with their own safety or the honor of the king."

These quotations require few remarks. Diodorus's statement, that Alexander was only nine days in the deserts seems to indicate that his route was the same as Mr. Browne's. Diodorus states also, that the temple was built by Danaus, who lived, according to Mr. Wilkinson, about 1385 B. C.

As I have said before, it is deeply to be regretted that no traveller has yet copied the hieroglyphics on the walls of the temple of Siwah, since from Baron Minutoli's plate they contain, as is generally the case, the name of a king; and that no person has been there, sufficiently acquainted with the styles of sculpture as to be fully capable to give an opinion of the period of its construction. I have stated, that the composition of the sculpture, as represented in Baron Minutoli's plate, does not appear very ancient, perhaps not later than the time

of the Ptolemies. The effigy of a god with the head of a ram is evidently the representation of Jupiter Amun, or rather Amun Kneph.

The preceding quotations are valuable, also, as informing us that the statues in the temples were ornamented with jewels, and as affording us some conception of the tricks the priests practised in delivering the oracles. The procession of the god in the golden ship, supported by eighty priests, reminds me of the magnificent ceremony represented on the walls of the splendid portico of Medenet Abou at Thebes. The Theban Jupiter is there depicted, carried by priests. Similar ceremonies being customary among the Egyptians, give an additional weight to the narrative of Diodorus. The accounts also of the fountain of the Sun confirm that of Herodotus; and no description of a desert can be more graphic than that of Quintus Curtius.

I will take this opportunity of stating, that I quite agree with Professor Heeren, “that the oracle of Amun was not the cause but the result of the importance of this Oasis. Commerce pro-

duced that influence which led to its civilisation. Palmyra became rich and powerful by the accidental circumstance of its being in the route of the caravans from India ; and this Oasis afforded a grateful and luxurious repose to the caravans on their route to the country of the Garamantes, now Fezzan, and from there to the Lotophagi in the two Syrtes, and therefore in the territory of the Carthaginians, and also to the Atlantes in central Africa." \*

Arrian's account of the expedition of Alexander is also interesting : — " In addition to these things a desire possesses him (Alexander) to come to Amun in Libya, for the purpose in some measure of consulting the god, since the oracle of Amun was said to be infallible. And therefore he set forth in this mind to Amun, as about to learn or to say that he had learned more certainly the things concerning himself. He proceeded, according to the account of Aristobulus, as far as Parcetonium, along the sea-coast through a district certainly deserted but not waterless, to the distance of one thousand and six hundred stades. He then turned into

\* Vol. ii. 420.

the midland country, where the oracle of Amun was. But the way is both desert, and a great portion of it is sand, and it is without water. Much water, however, came to Alexander from heaven, and the event was referred to a divine interposition. But this also was attributed to the good pleasure of the deity: if the south wind blows in that region, it raises the sand to a considerable height over the road, so that the marks of the way disappear; and, as in the sea, it is not possible by reason of the sand to know what course to take. For there are not any where indications along the road, neither hill, nor tree, nor permanent tumuli standing forth, by which travellers might conjecture their course, as mariners do by the stars. But the army of Alexander in consequence began to wander, and the guides of the way became doubtful. Ptolemy the son of Lagus indeed says, that two serpents after having emitted a cry advanced before the army, and that Alexander commanded the generals, relying upon the divine providence, to follow these; and that they led the way both to and from the oracle. But Aristobulus says, (and the more common report adheres to this state-

ment,) that two ravens flying before the army, — that these became leaders to Alexander. And truly that something divine assisted him, I am bold to believe, for even appearance favours such an opinion : those, however, who have given us different accounts of the matter, take from the certainty of the statement. But as to the place where the shrine of Amun is, all the surrounding parts are desert, and sand possesses the whole, and it is without water. It however placed in the midst being small, (for where it stretches out furthest in breadth, it extends at most to forty stades,) is full of fair trees, such as olive and palm trees, and alone of the surrounding districts is refreshed with dew. A fountain also springs from it, not like in any one respect to other fountains, as many as spring from the earth. For even at midday the water is cold to one having tasted it and still more to one having touched it, as if it was most cold ; but as the sun declines towards the evening, it is warmer ; and from evening all along until midnight the warmth increases ; at midnight, it arises to its greatest heat ; but from midnight it becomes gradually cool ; and at morning it is really cold.

but most cold at midday: and each day it experiences this regular change. But salt also is produced naturally, being dug for in this place; and some of the priests of Amun are in the custom of conveying portions of it into Egypt. For when they go into Egypt, placing the salt in baskets made of woven palm branches, they carry it as a gift to the king or to any other individual. But the mass of salt is oblong, (some pieces of it are even more than three digits,) and pure, like crystal. And both the Egyptians, and as many others as have not the deity in contempt, use this for sacrifices, as being purer than salt from the sea. Alexander both examined with admiration the country here, and consulted the god: and having heard, as he asserted, what was agreeable to him, he returned into Egypt, as Aristobulus says, the same way back, but, as Ptolemy the son of Lagus says, by another direct course as towards Memphis.

Josephus \* reproaches Apion with wishing to pass for an Alexandrian, when he was in reality

\* Lib. ii. contra Apionem, c. 3. and 4.

an Egyptian, being born at Oasis in the heart of Egypt. The Oasis Parva must, I conceive, be the birth-place of Apion. The Oasis of Amun cannot be called the heart of Egypt; and, according to Herodotus, the Oasis Magna was inhabited by those Samians who are said to be of the *Æschrionian* tribe.

## CHAP. XVI.

PTOLEMY. — STRABO MENTIONS THREE OASES. — NAMES IN THE GREEK AND HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MONUMENTS. — NUMBER OF TEMPLES ERECTED BY THE ROMANS. — OLYMPIODORUS, THE FIRST AUTHOR WHO MENTIONS THE OASIS OF DAKKEL OR WESTERN OASIS. — ATHANASIUS TOOK REFUGE IN ONE OF THE MONASTERIES OF THE OASIS MAGNA. — NESTORIUS EXILED TO THAT REGION. — JUVENAL. — TIMASIUS. — ATHANASIUS'S DESCRIPTION OF THE OASIS. — ARA- BIAN GEOGRAPHERS. — DESCRIPTION BY EDRISSI. — BY ABULFEDA. — BY JACUTUS. — BY LEO AFRICANUS. — HARTMAN. — PONCET, THE FIRST MODERN TRAVELLER WHO VISITED ANY OF THESE REGIONS.

PTOLEMY mentions two Oases, which he calls the greater and the lesser. The greater he places in the parallel of Abydus, and the lesser near the lake Mœris, but to the south of its parallel. Ptolemy places the first in latitude  $26^{\circ} 55'$ , and the lesser in  $28^{\circ} 45'$ . Pliny also mentions two Oases.

Strabo says\*, "The ancients only gave the name of Egypt to that inhabited part which the waters of the Nile cover. Afterwards, in his time, they comprised under that name, on the eastern side, all the country between the Arabian gulf and the Nile, and on the western side, the region which extends as far as the Oasis, and the maritime districts from the Canopian mouth to Catabathmus and the province of the Cyreneans, for the successors of Ptolemy increased so in power that they even possessed the Cyrenaica, and added to Egypt, moreover, the island of Cyprus; and the Romans, he says, who succeeded to the government of their territories, have judged it convenient to preserve the same limits to Egypt."

"The Egyptians call by the name of Anasis (Auasis), the inhabited districts which are surrounded by vast deserts and resemble islands in the sea, and this sort of country is very common throughout Libya. But there are *three* bordering upon and attached to the government of Egypt." In another place he states, "that of the three Auases which he had mentioned, the first over

\* Lib. xvii.

against Abydus, seven days' journey distant from it through the desert, was a habitation well supplied with water and wine, and sufficiently furnished with other necessaries: that the second was opposite the lake Moeris, and the third near the oracle of Amun.

This is the first quotation I have given that alludes to three Oases. The Oasis to the west of el Khargeh was seemingly not known at that time, or at all events it must have been of little importance, as none of the more ancient authors have mentioned it. The Oasis of Siwah and the Oasis Magna and parva must be the three Strabo alludes to. They were all, according to him, under the government of Egypt, and would probably be more prosperous as provinces than as independent states. Their intimate connection with Egypt, particularly during the dynasty of the Ptolemies, when the trade of that country became so extensive, and Alexandria surpassed in opulence all the cities of the East, would be a great source of gain to them, as the rich caravans to Cyrene and Carthage, and into the interior of Africa, would probably pass through their territory; but when the trunk languished the branches

would soon lose their luxuriance. The government of Egypt, when in the hands of wise and powerful rulers, must naturally have infused life and vigour into every department of the commerce of that great empire; but when anarchy and destructive wars exhausted her strength, the distant colonies would be unprotected, if not abandoned.

The monuments are now useful in affording us some idea of the condition of the Oases at the period of the reign of one of the Ptolemies, and also during a portion of the first and second centuries of the Christian era. The name of Ptolemy Euergetes, the third and last of the Ptolemies, whose reign was a blessing to his people, is found in hieroglyphics on all the walls of the fine temple of Kasr Ouaty. The Romans appear to have surrounded it with a strong enclosure. The small houses with which the area is now crowded are apparently of a still more recent date.

The names of six Roman Emperors are engraved on the walls of the temples of the Oases. The names of Adrian and Antoninus are found in hieroglyphics on the wall of the temple, on the hill near el Khargeh. Galba's name is in

the Greek inscription (see Appendix) on the propylon of the great temple of Darius. That of Adrian is found both in hieroglyphics on the walls of the temple of Doosh, and in a Greek inscription on the same temple. Domitian's name is written in hieroglyphics on the same temple, and that of Antoninus is inscribed on the temple of Kasr Zian, both in a Greek inscription, and in hieroglyphics. The small temple in the plain near el Khargeh is apparently Roman, although it is not ornamented with names, sculpture, or inscriptions, to enable us to decide positively. The temple of Ain Amour bears the names of the Emperors Nero and Titus; and that of Dar el Hadjar was built by a Cæsar. The brick temple at Doosh, is also Roman. The sceptics may doubt the antiquity of that edifice from the circumstance of the entrance being ornamented with a pointed arch (see plate 14); but this has no influence on my opinion, as I found a much more ancient pointed arch at Gibel el Birkel, (see the section in plate 28 of my Travels in Ethiopia). I have omitted to state in my description of this brick temple at Doosh, that one of the doors in the interior is constructed pre-

cisely in the Egyptian style, and over it are the remains of the Egyptian cornice and beading.

Thus we find, that in about a century seven temples were constructed by the Romans, and it is not impossible that others may have been erected which are now covered by the desert. These temples were not raised to adorn the metropolis that contained the magnificent temple of Darius, but in different parts of the Oases, evidently to gratify the wants and tastes of the inhabitants.

The Nubians (says Procopius), used to make frequent inroads into the territory of the Oases ; but Diocletian purchased a cessation of these hostilities by ceding to them a district that it would take a traveller seven days to go through ; most probably the country between the first and second cataracts.

Olympiodorus lived at the time of Theodosius the younger, and inscribed his work to that emperor. "The author relates many incredible things of the Oasis. First of its climate, and that not only none there suffer from the sacred disorder, but also that those who go there for other places are relieved from it through the gentle temperature of the atmosphere. He then

speaks of the abundance of sand every where, and of the wells, which being sunk to the depth of two hundred and three hundred, and sometimes even five hundred cubits, pour forth through the orifice streams of fresh water; whence all those who in common executed the work, draw in their turn, and the husbandmen irrigate their fields. He says that the trees there are constantly loaded with fruit, and that the corn grown there is more excellent than any other corn, and whiter than snow. That sometimes barley is sown twice a year, but millet constantly three times. That the husbandmen water their small enclosures every third day in summer, and every sixth in winter, which is the cause of the great fertility of the land: and that the sky there is always cloudless. He adds also that dials are made there. He says that the Oasis was formerly an island, and separated from the Continent, and that the same was called by Herodotus the Island of the Blessed. And his reason for the conjecture that it was once an island is, that marine shells and oysters are found in the rocks of the mountain which extends from the Thebaid into the Oasis, and also on account of the quantity of sand which abounds and fills

the three Oases. With Strabo he speaks of three Oases, two great, the exterior and the interior, parallel to but at the distance of a hundred miles from each other, whilst the third small one is separated by a long interval from the other two. Moreover, he uses this argument in proof that it may have been an island, that it very often happens that fish are found carried there by birds, or at least the bones of fish gnawed by birds : whence it is allowable to conjecture that the sea is not very far distant.”\*

This account of Olympiodorus is highly interesting, especially as he was a native of the Thebaid. The salubrity of the climate is perhaps exaggerated ; but if the causes of the diseases which are at present so baneful in the Oasis were removed, that is, if the inhabitants were supplied with abundance of more wholesome food than the dates on which very many of them are now, for a great portion of the year, obliged to live ; and if the Oasis still contained deep wells, such as Olympiodorus describes, to supply the people with wholesome water instead of the noxious stuff with which they now assuage the intolerable thirst created by their luscious fruits and the ex-

\* Photius Bibliotheca. lib. 11.

hausting heat of the climate, this region might still be remarkably salubrious, and very beneficial under many complaints. It is true, that at certain seasons every wind that blows is heated in crossing the parched sands of the surrounding deserts, but if the wind is sometimes hot and oppressive, it is also always dry, and seldom in itself injurious. During the winter and mild seasons of the year, the air of the desert is particularly invigorating. The fruitfulness of the region is indeed acknowledged by all, and its people being celebrated for the making of dials, infers a certain degree of civilisation. The existence of fossils is mentioned by Strabo as well as by the last author; and their descriptions are confirmed by every traveller who has been there. I presume that modern geologists would not attribute them to the Mosaic deluge, but to the great revolutions they infer the globe to have passed through before man's appearance on the earth. The most important part of the description of Olympiodorus is his statement that there were two large Oases, one exterior and the other interior. The latter is evidently the western Oasis, discovered in January 1819, by Sir Archi-

bald Edmonstone. The distance between the chief places in the two Oases is about a hundred miles, as Olympiodorus has stated.

Athanasius, the great advocate of the doctrine of the Trinity, when expelled from the archiepiscopal throne, and compelled to conceal himself in the deserts of the Thebaid, is supposed to have taken refuge in the monasteries of the Oasis Magna. The disciples of Antony and Pachomius had peopled the Libyan wilderness, and their abodes in the most dreary and isolated situations afforded a safe asylum to the persecuted Patriarch, and screened him from the wrath of the Arian emperor Constantius, and from the Pagan animosity of the apostate Julian. The life of Athanasius is a catalogue of triumphs and reverses; an extraordinary instance of enthusiastic and undaunted courage, and of the capabilities of a powerful and unbending mind. Four times, or, if we count also his retreat to his father's sepulchre, five times was he expelled from the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria; and twenty years of his life are said to have been passed in exile. His name is written in one of the sepulchres at Thebes, perhaps by himself; and the ruined monasteries in the Oasis magna

were, probably, the abode of the great champion of the Christian religion.

Nestorius\* was also exiled to the Oasis; Sisinius, after being Patriarch two years, died in the 22d year of Theodosius, and Nestorius was then appointed to fill his place in the see of Constantinople. Nestorius being suspected of deviating from the orthodox faith, the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, accused him to Theodosius and Pulcheria, and obtained permission to hold a council at Ephesus to dispute the doctrine of Nestorius. Nestorius was excommunicated, and confined to the east; but, as he succeeded in converting many persons in the district (supposed to be Petra†), where he was exiled, John of Antioch demanded that he should be sent into another place. The unfortunate Nestorius was therefore conveyed to one of the Oases. An excursion of the Blemmyes, a Nubian tribe, delivered him from this confinement; but the persecutions he suffered on arriving at the Nile soon terminated his existence.

Ulpian informs us, that the Roman Emperors

\* *Zonaras*, lib. iii. 35.

† The magnificent remains of churches (see Murray's edit. of Laborde) still existing there, denote the opulence as well as the religion of the inhabitants of that interesting city.

exiled the individuals who had incurred their displeasure and infringed the laws to these Oases, but generally their punishment was temporary. Juvenal the poet was in the Oasis magna some time. A general, called Timasius\*, was banished there by the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius (A. D. 396), and many of the bishops of the western church who resisted the bribes of Constantius, and boldly maintained the integrity of Athanasius, were exiled to these regions. Old men and bishops also were often sent from Libya to the great Oasis, and others from the Thebaid to that of Jupiter Amun ; places, as Athanasius describes them, “ unfrequented, and inspiring horror.”

The pestilential winds which Zonaras mentions were probably the Khampseen, which, however, are equally injurious in the valley of the Nile. Athanasius’s description of the Oasis, as unfrequented and inspiring horror, is certainly more graphic than the title of Island of the Blessed

\* Zosimus (lib. v. 9.) describes the Oasis, where Timasius was banished, as a barren place whence no one could escape when once carried thither : for the way being sandy, desert, and uninhabited, no one can find it, the wind covering the traces of people’s feet ; nor is there any tree or house to guide them.

given to it by Herodotus. Had the descriptions of these districts, which the historian of Halicarnassus and others have given us, been correct, exile to such delightful regions would have been no punishment, nor voluntary banishment any sacrifice. As M. D'Anville says \* “c'est un trait de l'imagination des Grecs de l'avoir appelé l'Isle des Bienheureux.” Many countries are deficient in natural attractions; some districts are even repulsive, and excite very painful feelings in passing through them; and in Italy, Sicily, and Greece I have seen towns, villages, and plains sadly depopulated by dreadful malaria, but never have I seen the abode of man in such wild and gloomy situations as are the convents in the Oasis magna. The sand around their walls is covered with the tracks of beasts of prey, and the view from them is confined to the barren rocks and the waterless desert, destitute of trees and shrubs and flowers; where the grass grows not, and where the heat is intolerable.

The beautiful Christian sepulchres in the necropolis of el Khargeh, are satisfactory evidence, that when Christianity prevailed there the inha-

\* Vol. iii. p. 33.

bitants possessed the wealth and taste necessary to form such a cemetery as would be an ornament to any European city. And the great number of Christian ruins, churches, and convents, mentioned in the descriptions of the different Oases, prove the former prevalence of the religion of the Gospel in these now benighted regions.

The Arabian geographers have given us some interesting accounts of the Oases, which are the more valuable, since, during the seven or eight preceding centuries, no notice is preserved of them.

We are not informed when the Mahometans extended their power and religion to those remote districts, if the prize was thought worth the trouble, the followers of Amer, the conqueror of Egypt, inflamed with religious zeal, and thirsting for plunder, would probably soon add the Oases to their other conquests: the passage of the wilderness would be no obstacle to men accustomed to the burning deserts of Arabia.

Al Sherif al Edrissi\*, author of two works on Nubia and a description of a terrestial globe, weighing 800 marks of silver, made by order of

\* Herbelot, p. 290.

Roger king of Sicily and Calabria, wrote also a work on geography, arranged according to the seven climates of Ptolemy. He is supposed to have written about the year 545 of the Hegira, A. D. 1153. In the fourth part of the first climate he says\*, “ Al Vahat is near to Assuan on the western side. This region, now laid waste, and without any population, was formerly inhabited ; streams flow through it, and there are still trees remaining, and ruined towns which are not inhabited. Thus, also, beyond this region, even to Cavar and Cucu, the lands are continually marked with palms and the ruins of edifices. Ibn Haukal, he adds, relates that the goats and sheep which are at the present time in that region, have become quite wild, and flee from men, and are taken by the hunters like wild beasts. The greatest part of the Alvahatæ extends lower down, parallel to Egypt ; and there are ruins in the several districts, of which hereafter.” It is difficult to decide which is the portion of al Vahat which this author describes. The account of ruins is applicable to the Oasis Magna ; but it is hardly possible that one of the largest Oases in the

\* Hartmann, page 48.

Libyan desert can at any epoch, or owing to any circumstance, have been entirely depopulated. Had the description he promised of the ruins been preserved, it would have been highly interesting, and it might have enabled us to identify the district he describes. He afterwards informs us in the fourth section of the second climate, “That the other part of the region Alvahat extends towards the south to the country of the Taguitæ; and there are three journeys between the boundary of Nubia and Alvahat; and that in the region of al Vahat are serpents of an incredible size, called toghan, which are only found in that place. From Ardain and Bahrain to Gefar, he adds, is a journey of two days; from Gefar to al Vahat of three days without water; but from Bahrain to the city called Sant Ria (others call it Santarium), are four journeys. Towards the north are nine stations for four days’ journey, to the mount Kolmar. From Sant Riham you may enter upon the lands of Cavar and other districts of the blacks, which city is placed near the canal of Minhi, which branches out into the canal of the Faoom.”

Abulfeda\*, who is supposed to have been

\* Herbelot, 23.

born in the year 672 of the Hegira, and to have died in the year 732, had the titles of sultan, king, and prince of Hamed in Syria, where he reigned three years, but was afterwards deposed. He is the author of two considerable works, one on geography, and the other an abridgment of history. He speaks of the Alvahatæ as belonging to Egypt. He says that this region abounds with palms and running water, flowing abundantly from the sources which it contains. But that the Alvahatæ are surrounded by the desert, like so many islands in the middle of the sand, and that there is a desert of three days' journey between them and the Said. The author of the book of Lobab writes the name Alvach, and says, that it is a celebrated region of Egypt in that district, where it borders on the deserts of western Africa : Jacutus, on the contrary, in his Homonymes enjoins, that the name should be written Vachatas without al, and adds, that there are three regions to the west of the Said of Egypt, beyond the mountain which runs parallel with the Nile, and that these are called the first, middle, and farthest Vachas. That the first of these is very well cultivated ; and that among many other wonderful things, there are rivers and hot

springs in it with a fetid smell: also, that there are many plantations of palms and cultivated lands; but that the inhabitants are in a wretched state (*populum victu miserum* \*). This is a correct and graphic description of the Oasis, if we consider the Oasis Magna as the first, and the district or valley containing the Oasis of Dakkel, Ferafreh and el Bahnasa as the middle, and the Oasis of Amun the farthest.

Abulfeda says†, “That al Vahat lies to the south-east of Santariah (Siwah), and that the district of Augela is situated between Magreb (Muggreb) or Western Africa, and al Vahat; and that the common boundary of Egypt and Magreb is a line drawn between a certain mountain on the coast (implied to be the lesser Catabathmus) to the tract of al Vahat, and hence along it to the boundary of Nubia. Edrissi (Hartmann, page 303. from the Parisian manuscripts), says Santariah is a small city where there is a minbar or pulpit, or sacred place, from which the Koran, &c. is read. The inhabitants are a mixture of the Berbers and

\* Michæles Marginalia, p. 5.

† Major Rennell, Geographical system of Herodotus.

Arabs. Palms are in abundance, but there are few fountains.

Ibn el Wardi says, that Santariah is a tract of country which has a city of the same name, and adds, that it is inhabited by Berbers mixed with Arabs. In it are found iron mines. Between this city and Alexandria there is a great desert. Major Rennel justly concludes, that the brief descriptions of Santariah, as far as they go, equally apply to Siwah ; and from the discoveries of modern travellers, it can scarcely be doubted, that the Oasis of Amun of the ancients, and the Santariah of the Arabian geographers, are the same as the Oasis of Siwah discovered by Browne.

John Leo, a Mahomedan by birth, was born at Grenada. When his native place was taken, 1492, by Ferdinand and Isabella, he retired to Africa, where he resided a considerable time, and was thence called Africanus. He embraced Christianity under Leo X., who highly esteemed him. He died about 1526, leaving a very valuable description of Africa written in Arabic, and likewise a work on the lives of the Arabian philosophers. \*

\* Sir Archibald Edmonstone. Herbelot.

Leo Africanus concludes a list of the islands which stretch across the north of Africa with Gadamis Fezza (Fezzan Angela and Eloah), and in another place informs us, that el Ouah is a country situated in the desert of Libya, a hundred miles from Egypt, where there are three forts, many houses, rich fields, and an abundance of date trees."\* The forts alluded to may be the enclosures containing the three Roman temples in the Oasis Magna, which from their elevated situation, and amazingly thick strong walls, have evidently been used as forts.

Hartmann † mentions the different ways the ancient authors wrote the name of the Oasis. The reader may probably have noticed them in the different translations. Edrissi, al Vahât, al Vah, al Vâhât, al Alvâhât. Abulfeda, three times al Vâhât. The author of the book of Lobab, al Vâh. Jacutus, without the article, Vâhât. Ibn al Vardi, al Vâhât. Schulten, author of a geographical lexicon, al Vah and Vah. The ancient Greek and Roman writers *Αὐατεῖς*, Oases. The Arabs of the present day call an Oasis, Wah, or el Wah the Oasis, pronounced very broadly, which is nearly

\* Sir A. Edmonstone, p. 120.

† Edrissii Africa, p. 486.

the same as Strabo's Auasis, leaving out the Greek termination *sis*.

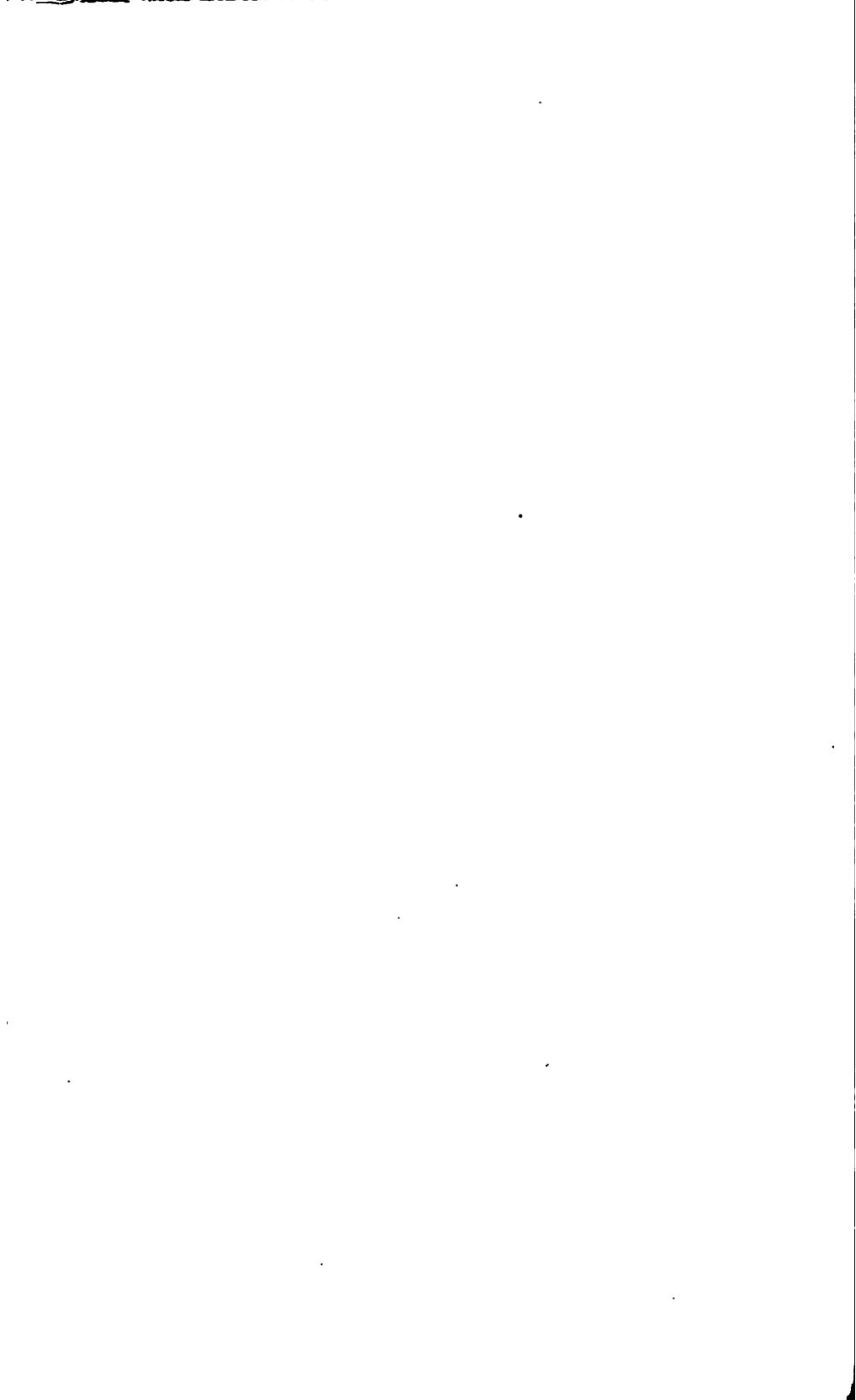
Poncet was I believe the first modern traveller who discovered any of these Oases. He visited the Oasis Magna in 1698; but as his brief description of that region is the only notice of it we possess between the 16th and 19th centuries; and as it gives us some information of the government at the period he passed through it, and is highly graphic of the situation of the Oasis itself, and of the character of the deserts which he crossed on his way to Ethiopia, I will conclude this article by laying it before the reader. "We set forward (he says \*) from Monfaloot on the Nile (See Map) on the 2d October, early in the morning, and from that day we entered a frightful desert. These deserts are extremely dangerous, because the sands, being moving, are raised by the least wind, which darken the air, and falling afterwards in clouds, passengers are often buried in them, or at least lose the route which they ought to keep. We arrived (he continues) on the 6th Oct. at He-laoue. 'T is a pretty large borough, and the

\* *Voyage to Ethiopia*, London, 1709.

last that is under the Grand Signior's jurisdiction. There is a guard in it of 500 janissaries and 300 spehis, under the command of an officer whom in that country they call Kachif. Helaoue is very pleasant, and answers fully its name, which signifies a country of sweetness. Here are to be seen a great number of gardens watered with brooks, and a world of palm trees, which preserve a continual verdure. Coloquitinda is to be found there, and all the fields are filled with senna, which grows upon a shrub three feet high. This drug, which is so much esteemed in Europe, is of no use in the country hereabouts. The inhabitants of Helaoue in their illnesses, make only use of the root of Ezula, which for a whole night they infuse in milk, and take the day after, having first strained it through a sieve. This medicine is very violent, but 't is what they like, and commend very much. The Ezula is a thick tree, the blossom of which is blue; it grows into a sort of ball, of an oval figure, full of cotton, of which the people of the country make pretty fine cloth.

“ We rested four days at Helaoue, to take in water and provisions, for we were to pass through a desert where there was neither brook nor foun-

tain. The heat is so excessive, and the sands of those deserts so burning, that there is no marching barefoot without having one's feet extremely swelled. Nevertheless, the nights are cold enough, which occasions troublesome distempers in those who travel through that country, unless they take great precautions. After two days' march we came to Chabbe, which is a country full of alum, and within three days we reached to Selyme, where we furnished ourselves with water for five days, from an excellent spring which is in the middle of the desert. Those vast wildernesses, where there is neither to be found bird nor wild beast, nor herbs, nor so much as a little fly, and where nothing is to be seen but mountains of sand and the carcasses and bones of camels, imprint a certain horror in the mind which makes the voyage very tedious and disagreeable. It would be a hard matter to cross these deserts without the assistance of camels."



## APPENDIX A.

## INSCRIPTION

ON THE

PROPYLON OF THE TEMPLE AT EL KHARGEH.

i. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΔΕΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΟΑΙ<sup>1</sup> Θ ΔΟΣ  
 ΤΟΥ ΠΕΜΦΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΜΟΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΥΠΟ<sup>2</sup>  
 ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ

ii. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑ-  
 ΦΟΝ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΥΠΕΤΑΞΑ ΙΝ ΕΙΔΟΤΕΣ ΑΠΟΛΑΥ-  
 ΉΤΕ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΩΝ Λ<sup>3</sup> Β ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ<sup>4</sup> ΣΕ-  
 ΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΣΟΥΛΑΠΙΚΙΟΥ

iii. ΓΑΛΒΑ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΦΑΩΦΙ Α<sup>7</sup> ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣ-  
 ΤΗΙ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΛΕΓΕΙ  
 ΠΑΣΑΝ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΜΕ-  
 ΝΕΙΝ ΤΩ ΠΡΟΣΗ<sup>9</sup> ΚΑ<sup>10</sup>-

iv. ΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΤΟΥΣΑΝ ΤΩΝ  
 ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΩΝ ΑΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ

ΗΙ and ΜΗΙ are often used, according to the original inscriptions, for Η and ΜΗ.

<sup>1</sup> Οασεως Θηβαιδος restoration by Dr. Young and Mons. Latronne. <sup>2</sup> Y's restoration and L's original confirmed. <sup>3</sup> L conf. : rest. by Y νυν. <sup>4</sup> Y γ and L ο conf. <sup>5</sup> L ο conf. : rest. by Y του Θεου Αειθιου. <sup>6</sup> L ο Αιθιου. <sup>7</sup> L ο conf. : rest. by Y ετους B. <sup>8</sup> Y ρ and L ο conf. <sup>9</sup> rest. by Y and L orig. προσηκοντι. <sup>10</sup> Y ρ and L ο conf.

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΕΙΑ ΔΙΑ-  
ΓΟΥΣΑΝ ΕΥΘΥΜΩΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΕΙΝ ΤΗΙ ΤΕ ΕΥΘΗ-  
ΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ <sup>11</sup> ΤΗΙ ΜΕΓΙΣ-

v. ΤΗΙ <sup>12</sup> ΤΗΝ ΚΑΙΡΩΝ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΜΗΙ ΒΑΡΥΝΟ-  
ΜΕΝΗΝ ΚΑΙΝΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΙΚΟΙΣ ΕΙΣΠΡΑΞΕΣΙ  
ΣΧΕΔΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΕ ΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΕΒΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ-  
ΒΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΤ  
<sup>13</sup> ΟΛΙΓΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑ-

vi. ΤΑ ΠΛΗΘΗ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΕΥΣΧΗΜΟΝΕΣΤΑ-  
ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ <sup>15</sup> ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ  
ΧΩΡΑΝ ΜΕΜΦΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΕΙΓΙΣΤΑ ΓΕΝΟΜΕ-  
ΝΑΣ ΕΠΗΡΕΙΑΣ ΟΥ ΔΙΕΛΙΠΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ  
<sup>16</sup> ΑΠ ΕΜΟΥ <sup>17</sup> ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΤΑ ΕΠΕΙΓΟΝ-

vii. ΤΑ ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΝΑ <sup>18</sup> ΔΕ ΕΥΘΥΜΟΤΕΡΟΙ  
ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΛΠΙΖΗΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΛΑΜΨΑΝΤΟΣ  
<sup>19</sup> ΗΜΕΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ  
ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ-  
ΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΒΑ ΤΑ ΤΕ ΠΡΟΣ <sup>20</sup> ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ

viii. <sup>20</sup> ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΗΤΕ  
<sup>21</sup> ΟΤΙ ΕΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΒΟ-  
ΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΆΝΗΚΟΝΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΣ  
<sup>22</sup> ΠΕΡΙ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΖΗΤΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΟΣΑ  
<sup>23</sup> ΕΞΕΣΤΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΡΕΙ-

<sup>11</sup> L *τρισμεγιστη.*

<sup>12</sup> Y *r* and L *ο των.*

<sup>13</sup> Y *r* and

L *ο conf.*

<sup>14</sup> L *ο conf.:* rest. by Y *οικου.*

<sup>15</sup> L *without*

*των και:* Y *without και.*

<sup>16</sup> Y *and L ομαντον.*

<sup>17</sup> Y *r* and

L *ο conf.*

<sup>18</sup> Y *r* and L *ο conf.*

<sup>19</sup> Y *ο ημιν.*

<sup>20</sup> Y *r* and

L *ο conf.*

<sup>21</sup> Y *ο conf.:* L *ο ηκοντων.*

<sup>22</sup> Y *r* and L *ο conf.*

<sup>23</sup> L *conf.:* Y *κρινειν.*

ix. ΝΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΕ-  
<sup>24</sup> ΟΜΕΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΔΥΝΑ-  
<sup>24</sup> ΜΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΕΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΔΗΛΩΣΩ  
<sup>24</sup> ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ <sup>25</sup> ΤΑΜΙΕΥ-  
<sup>25</sup> ΣΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ

x. <sup>26</sup> ΙΕΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΣ-  
<sup>26</sup> ΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΕΓΝΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΥΛΟ-  
<sup>26</sup> ΓΩΤΑΤΗΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ <sup>26</sup> ΤΗΝ ΕΝΤΕΥΞΕΙΝ ΥΜΩΝ ΥΠΕΡ  
<sup>26</sup> ΤΟΥ ΜΗΙ ΑΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΛΩ-  
<sup>26</sup> ΝΕΙΑΣ Η ΑΛ-

xi. ΛΑΣ ΜΙΣΘΩΣΕΙΣ ΟΥΣΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ  
<sup>27</sup> ΘΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΙΑΝ ΑΓΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ  
<sup>28</sup> ΟΤΙ ΟΥΚ Ό ΒΛ ΨΕ ΤΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΤΟ  
<sup>29</sup> ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΑΛΙΕΙΡΟΥΣ ΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΙΑΥ-

xii. ΤΗΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΑΧΘΗΝΑΙ ΜΕΤ ΑΝΑΓΚΗΣ  
<sup>30</sup> ΕΠΙΒΛΗΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΛΩΝ ΔΙΟΠΕΡ  
<sup>30</sup> ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΟΥΤΕ ΗΓΑΡΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΛΩ-  
<sup>31</sup> ΝΕΙΑΝ Η ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΑΞΩ ΕΙΔΩΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ

xiii. ΣΥΜΦΕΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΙΣ ΨΗΦΟΙΣ ΤΟ  
<sup>32</sup> ΜΕΤΑ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΙΑΣ ΕΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΕΣ-  
<sup>32</sup> ΘΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΠΕΙΣΜΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΤΙ ΟΥΔΑ  
<sup>33</sup> ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΜΕΛΛΟΝ ΑΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΙΣ ΑΞΕΙ ΤΕΛΩΝΑΣ

xiv. ΗΙ ΜΙΣΘΩΤΑΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΔΙΑΜΙΣΘΩΣΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΟΥ-

<sup>24</sup> Y r and L o conf.      <sup>25</sup> L o conf. : rest. by Y δανεισμένων.      <sup>26</sup> Y r  
 and L o conf.      <sup>27</sup> Y r εθος: L o ηθος.      <sup>28</sup> Y ολ--εκλα--ψε:  
 L r ολγως εβλαψε.      <sup>29</sup> Y r and L o conf.      <sup>30</sup> according to Y κ'.  
<sup>31</sup> Y r and L r conf.      <sup>32</sup> L o conf. : rest. by Y τα εν.      <sup>33</sup> L o  
 conf.: according to Y o τον εμον ακοντα.

ΛΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΕΚΟΥΣΙΩΣ ΠΡΟΕΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ  
ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΩΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΣΥΝ-  
ΘΕΙΑΝ <sup>34</sup> ΦΥΛΛΑΣΣΩΝ Η ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ  
ΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΔΙΚΙΑΝ

xv. <sup>35</sup> ΜΕΙΜΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΕΝΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΦΑΣΕΙ ΤΩΝ  
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ <sup>36</sup> ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΑ ΔΑΝΕΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΧΩ-  
ΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΕ ΤΟ ΠΡΑΚΤΟΡΕΙΟΝ <sup>37</sup> ΤΙΝΑΣ  
ΠΑΡΕΔΟΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΑΛΛΑΣ <sup>38</sup> ΦΥΛΑΚΑΣ ΑΣ  
ΚΑΙ <sup>39</sup> ΔΙ ΑΥΤΟ ΤΟΥΤΟ

xvi. ΕΓΝΩΝ ΑΝΑΙΡΕΘΕΙΣΑΣ ΙΝΑ ΑΙ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ  
ΔΑΝΕΙΩΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΩΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ  
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ <sup>40</sup> ΣΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΠΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΗΣΕΙ ΚΕΛΕΥΩΝ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ <sup>40</sup> ΤΗΙ  
ΤΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΑ-

xvii. ΣΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΠΑΡ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΔΑΝΕΙΑ Α  
ΜΗ ΑΥ Σ ΕΞ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΔΑΝΙΣΕΝ ΜΗΔ ΟΔΩΣ  
· ΚΑΤΑΚΛΕΙΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ <sup>42</sup> ΦΥ-  
ΛΑΚΗΝ ΗΝΤΙΝΟΥΝ ΕΙ ΜΗΙ ΚΑΚΟΥΡΓΟΝ ΜΗΔ  
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΡΑΚ-

xviii. ΤΟΡΕΙΟΝ ΕΞΩ ΤΩΝ ΟΦΕΙΑΟΝΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ  
ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΙΝΑ ΔΕ ΜΗΔΑΜΟΘΕΝ ΒΑ-  
ΡΥΝΗΙ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ ΣΥΝΑΛΛΑΓΑΣ  
ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΗΔΕ <sup>44</sup> ΣΥΝΕΧΩΣΙ  
ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΠΙΣΤΙΝ

<sup>34</sup> Y r and L o conf.

<sup>35</sup> L conf. : according to Y *μιμησαμενος*.

<sup>36</sup> Y r and L o conf.

<sup>37</sup> Y o conf. : L has not *το*.

<sup>38</sup> L o and Y r

conf. <sup>39</sup> according to Y *ν*.

<sup>40</sup> Y r and L o conf.

<sup>41</sup> accord-  
ing to Y and L *αντος*.

<sup>42</sup> L o and Y r conf.

<sup>43</sup> Y r *μηδ* : L r *μηδε*.

χιx. ΟΙ ΤΗΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΠΡΑΞΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ Α ΜΗ ΔΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ-  
ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ <sup>45</sup> ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΣ  
ΠΡΟΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΕΔΗΛΩΘΗ ΓΑΡ ΜΟΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ  
ΟΤΙ ΗΔΗ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΘΗΚΑΣ ΕΠΕΙΡΑΣΑΝ  
ΑΦΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ΝΟΜΙΜΩΣ

χx. <sup>46</sup> ΓΕΓΟΝΥΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΑ ΔΑΝΕΙΑ ΠΑΡΑ  
ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΑΒΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΠΡΑΣΣΕΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΙΑΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΓΟΡΑΣΜΟΥΣ <sup>47</sup> ΑΝΑΔΑΣΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΑΠΟ-  
ΣΠΩΝΤΕΣ ΤΑ ΚΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΩΝΗΣΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΩΣ

χxi. ΣΥΜΒΕΒΛΗΚΟΤΩΝ ΤΙΣΙΝ ΑΝΑΒΟΛΙΚΑ ΕΙΛΗΦΟ<sup>48</sup>  
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΣΚΟΥ ΉΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙΣ ΉΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑ-  
ΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΉΙ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΟΦΕΙΛΗΚΟΤΩΝ  
ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΙ ΛΟΓΩΙ ΚΕΛΕΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΟΣΤΙΣ ΑΝ  
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ<sup>49</sup>

χxii. ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΉΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ  
ΥΠΟΠΤΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΕΧΗΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ <sup>50</sup> ΗΜΟΣΙ-  
ΟΙΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΣΙ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜ <sup>51</sup> Η ΠΡΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ <sup>52</sup> ΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΩΙ ΤΟΙ-  
ΟΥΤΩΙ ΣΥΜΒΑΛΛΗΙ

χxiii. Ή ΜΕΡΗ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΕ-  
ΧΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΦΥΛΑ-  
ΚΙΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΟΦΕΙΛΗΜΑ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΗΤΕ  
ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΕΣΧΗΜΕΝΟΥ<sup>53</sup> ΜΗΤΕ <sup>55</sup> ΤΩΝ ΥΠ-  
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΡΑΤΟΥ-

<sup>44, 45, 46</sup> Y r and L o conf. <sup>47</sup> L o conf.: according to Υ *αναλαστους*.  
<sup>48</sup> Y r and L o *ειληφοσιεκ*. <sup>49</sup> Y r and L o conf. <sup>50</sup> Y o and L o *δημοσιοις*.  
<sup>51</sup> Y r and L o *ονομα*. <sup>52</sup> Y *ιν...σις*: according to L r *ινα μηδεις*. <sup>53</sup> L o  
conf.: according to Y r *β μερη*. <sup>54</sup> Y r and L o conf. <sup>55</sup> L omits *των*.

xxiv. ΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΑΝΙΣΗΙ ΝΟΜΙΜΟΣ ΛΑΒΩΝ ΥΠΟΘΗ-  
ΚΗΝ ΉΙ ΦΘΑΣΗΙ Α ΕΔΑΝΙΣΕΝ ΚΟΜΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΉΙ  
ΚΑΙ ΩΝΗΣΗΤΑΙ ΤΙ ΜΗΙ ΚΑΤΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΜΗΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ  
ΠΡΑΓΜΑ ΕΞΕΙ

xxv. ΤΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΟΙΚΑΣ ΆΛΛΟΤΡΙΑΣ ΟΥΣΑΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΛΗΦΟΤΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟΣ  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΙ ΕΚ  
ΤΟΥ ΦΙΣΚΟΥ ΤΑΙΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΣΙ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΣΘΑΙ ΩΝ  
ΒΕΒΑΙΑΝ ΔΕΙ

xxvi. ΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΠΡΑΞΙΑΝ ΦΥΛΑΣΣΕΙΝ ΕΝΕΤΕΥ-  
ΧΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΥ-  
ΦΟΤΕΛΕΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ <sup>58</sup> ΠΡΟΣΟ-  
ΔΙΚΑ ΑΞΙΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΑΣ ΦΥΛΑΧΘΗΝΑΙ ΩΣ Ο  
ΘΕΟΣ <sup>59</sup> ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ

xxvii. ΕΓΡΑΨΕΝ ΠΟΣΤΟΜΩΙ <sup>60</sup> ΑΠΟΛΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΕ-  
ΓΟΝΤΩΝ ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΚΕΚΡΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΑ <sup>60</sup> ΥΠΟ  
ΙΔΙΩΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΜΕΣΩΙ ΧΡΟΝΩΙ  
<sup>61</sup> ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΚΡΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟ  
ΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ

xxviii. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΥΣΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΙ ΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΛ-  
ΒΙΛΛΟΣ <sup>63</sup> ΚΑΙ ΟΥΗΣΤΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΑΠΕΛΥ-

<sup>66</sup> Y and L have *νομίμως*.  
ζουσας.  
L o conf.  
Φλακκον.

<sup>57</sup> L o conf.: according to Y *αλλοτρια-*  
*ζουσας.* <sup>68</sup> L o conf.: according to Y *προσδικα.*  
<sup>60</sup> Y r and  
<sup>61</sup> L o conf.: rest. by Y μεθ' ο  
L o conf.  
<sup>62</sup> L o conf.: according to Y *κατακριναι.*

<sup>58</sup> Y r and  
<sup>63</sup> Y r and

ΣΑΝ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΙΠΚΡΙΜΑΤΑ  
ΦΥΛΑΣΣΩ<sup>64</sup> ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΤΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΚΟ-  
ΤΩΝ ΤΗΙ

xxix. ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΩΣΤΕ ΑΠΟΛΕ-  
ΛΥΣΘΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΗΔΕΠΩ<sup>65</sup> ΕΞ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΠΡΑΧ-  
ΘΕΝΤΑ ΔΗΛΟΝΟΤΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ-  
ΜΕΝΗΣ<sup>66</sup> ΆΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΥΦΟΤΕ-  
ΛΕΙΑΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΔΕ

xxx. ΤΩΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΡΑΧΘΕΝΤΩΝ  
ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΜΕΣΩΙ ΧΡΟΝΩΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΩΝ ΕΚΦΟΡΙΑ ΚΑΤ-  
ΕΚΡΙΘ<sup>67</sup> ΩΣ ΟΥΗΣΤΕΙΝΟΣ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΘ-  
ΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΤΕΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΥ-

xxxi. ΤΟΣ<sup>68</sup> ΙΣΤΗΜΙ ΑΠΟΛΕΛΥΚΩΣ ΤΑ ΜΗΔΕΠΩ<sup>69</sup> ΕΙΣ-  
ΠΡΑΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΜΕΛΛΟΝ<sup>70</sup> ΜΕ-  
ΝΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΘΗΚΟΥΣΙ ΑΔΙΚΟΝ ΓΑΡ  
ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΩΝΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΤΗ-

xxxii. ΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΔΟΝΤΑΣ ΩΣ  
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΥΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΟΥΣ ΕΚΦΟΡΙΑ ΑΠΑΙΤΕΙΣΘΑΙ  
ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΕΔΑΦΩΝ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΟΝ ΔΕ<sup>71</sup> ΕΣΤΙΝ  
ΤΑΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ

xxxiii. ΚΑΡΙΣ<sup>72</sup> ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΤΕΝΕΙΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝ-  
ΔΡΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΧΩΡΑ ΔΙΑ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΤ-  
ΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΑΣ<sup>73</sup> Σ ΜΗΔΕΜΙΑΝ<sup>75</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Y o and L o φυλασσομ<sup>65</sup>. <sup>66</sup> Y r and L o conf. <sup>67</sup> Y r and L o  
conf. <sup>68</sup> L conf.: *avtois* omitted by Y. <sup>69,70</sup> Y r and L o conf.  
<sup>70</sup> L o and Y r conf. <sup>71</sup> L conf.: according to Y o ετι τηι των σεβαστων χαριτι.  
<sup>72</sup> according to Y r και τους εγγενεις Αλεξανδρεις: according to L o εγγενεις as  
also ενγενειν posthac. <sup>73</sup> Y r τη ... αιφ φιλεργια κατοικουντας: L r τη  
πολει δια φιλεργιας κατοικουντας. <sup>74</sup> according to L r εις μηδεμιαν: Y  
omits these words. <sup>75</sup> rest. by L αλλην λεπτουργιαν η τας καθηκουντας αγεσθαι.

xxxiv. ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΠΕΖΗΤΗΣΑΤΕ Κ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΔΕ  
ΦΥΛΑΣΣΩ ΩΣΤΕ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΓΕΝΩΝ ΑΛΕΞ-  
ΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ ΧΩΡΙΚΑΣ ΑΓΕΣΘΑΙ  
ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ ΔΕ

xxxv. ΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΑΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙ-  
ΜΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΙΕΤΙΑΝ <sup>77</sup> ΕΝΧΕΙΡΙΖΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ-  
ΣΤΑΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ <sup>78</sup> ΔΕ ΚΕΛΕΥΩ ΟΣΑ-  
ΚΙΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΣ ΕΠ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΕΦΘΑ-

xxxvi. ΣΕΝ ΚΡΕΙΝΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΥΣΑΙ ΜΗΚΕΤΙ <sup>79</sup> ΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ-  
ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΝ ΑΓΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΟ ΕΠΑΡ-  
ΧΟΙ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΠΕΦΡΟΝΗΚΟΤΕΣ ΩΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΟ-  
ΛΑΣΤΕΟΣ <sup>80</sup> ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΕΓΛΟΓΙΣΤΗΣ Ο ΤΑ ΑΥΤΑ  
ΕΙΣ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΝ

xxxvii. ΑΓΩΝ <sup>81</sup> ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΆΛΛΟ ΠΟΙΩΝ ΠΛΗΝ  
<sup>82</sup> ΑΡΓΥΡΙΣΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΠΙΩΝ ΕΑΥΤΩ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΆΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ  
ΟΥΝ ΗΕΙΩΣΑΝ ΕΚΣΤΗΣΑΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΑΙΩΝ  
<sup>83</sup> ΚΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΩΣ

xxxviii. ΠΛΕΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΝΗΛΩΚΟΤΕΣ  
ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΚΑΘ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΝ ΤΑ ΑΥΤΑ  
<sup>83</sup> ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΚΡΙΣΙΝ ΑΓΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΟ Δ ΑΥΤΟ  
ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΙΑΙΩ ΛΟΓΩΙ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ  
<sup>83</sup> ΑΓΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΙΣΤΗΜΙ ΩΣ-

xxxix. ΤΕ ΕΙ ΤΙ ΚΡΙΘΕΝ ΑΠΕΛΥΘΗ ΉΙ ΑΠΟΛΥΘΗ-  
ΣΕΤΑΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΙΑΙΩΙ ΛΟΓΩΙ ΤΕΤΑΓ-

<sup>76</sup> Y r and L o conf.      <sup>77</sup> L o conf.: Y r has *εγχειρίζειν*.      <sup>78</sup> L conf.:  
according to Y r λεγω.      <sup>79</sup> L conf.: according to Y *κρινας*.      <sup>80</sup> L conf.:  
pro *εκλογιστης*.      <sup>81</sup> Y r and L r conf.      <sup>82</sup> Y r and L o conf.  
<sup>83</sup>, <sup>84</sup>, <sup>85</sup>, <sup>86</sup> Y r and L o conf.

ΜΕΝΟΤ ΜΗΚΕΤΙ ΕΞΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛ-  
<sup>84</sup> ΛΕΙΝ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΩΙ ΜΗΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΚΡΙΣΙΝ ΑΓΕΣΘΑΙ  
 Ή Ο ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣ ΑΠΑΡΑΙΤΗ-

χλ. ΤΩΣ ΕΗΜΙΩΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΠΕΡΑΣ  
<sup>85</sup> ΤΩΝ ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΑΝ ΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΕΛΥ-  
 ΜΕΝΑ ΑΓΗΤΑΙ ΕΩΣ ΤΙΣ ΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΗ  
<sup>85</sup> ΗΔΗ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΣΧΕΔΟΝ ΑΟΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΓΕ-  
 ΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ

χλι. ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ  
 ΣΥΝΤΑΡΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΩ ΕΑΝ  
 ΜΕΝ ΤΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΙΔΙΩΙ ΛΟΓΩΙ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΩΝ ΩΣ  
<sup>86</sup> ΕΤΕΡΩΙ ΣΥΝΗΓΟΡΩΝ ΕΙΣΑΓΗΙ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΝ ΠΑΡ-  
<sup>86</sup> ΙΣΤΑΣΘΑΙ ΥΠ

χλιι. ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΓΕΙΛΑΝΤΑ ΆΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΕ  
<sup>87</sup> ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΑΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ Ή ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΙΔΙΩΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ  
<sup>88</sup> ΚΑΤΕΝΕΓΚΩΝ ΤΡΕΙΣ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ ΜΗ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΗ  
<sup>88</sup> ΜΗΚΕΤΙ ΕΞΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΕΙΝ ΆΛΛΑ  
 ΤΟ ΗΜΙΣΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ

χλιιι. ΤΗΣ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΑΝΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΑΔΙΚΩΤΑΤΟΝ  
<sup>89</sup> ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΕΠΑΓΟΝΤΑ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΥΣ  
<sup>89</sup> ΥΠΕΡ ΟΥΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΔΙΑ-  
 ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΕΥΘΥΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ

χλιιιι. ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ ΔΕ <sup>91</sup> ΛΕΥΣΩΜΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΓΝΩ-

<sup>87</sup> according to Y r and L o *ινα.*  
 L o *conf.*

<sup>88</sup> Y r and L o *conf.*

<sup>89</sup> L o *conf.* : according to Y r *ατιμας.*

<sup>89</sup> Y r and  
<sup>91</sup> Y r *κτ-*  
*λεων και* : L r *διακελευσομαι.*

ΜΟΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΆΝΤΑ ΚΑΙΝΟΠΟΙΗ-  
ΘΕΝΤΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΤΑΣ  
Ε Σ

χlv. ΕΝΔΕΙΧΘΕΝΤΑΣ ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΑΣ ΩΣ ΕΔΕΙ ΕΤΙΜΩ-  
ΡΗΣΑΜΗΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΓΝΟΩ Δ ΟΤΙ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ ΠΡΟ-  
ΝΟΙΑΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΣΘΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ ΕΝ  
ΕΥΣΤΑΘΕΙΑ ΕΞ ΗΣ

χlvii. ΧΟΡΗΓΙΑΣ ΕΧΕΤΕ ΟΣΑ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ ΗΝ ΕΠΑΝΟΡ-  
ΘΩΣΑΜΗΝ ΕΝΕΤΥΧΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΜΟΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΟΙ  
ΚΑΘ ΟΛΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΕΔΗΛΩΣΑΝ ΌΤΙ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΚΑΙΝΑ ΚΑΤΕΚΡΙΘΗ

χlviii. ΛΑ ΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΣΙΤΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΚΑ  
ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΞΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΕΥΧΕΡΩΣ  
ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ ΤΙ ΚΑΙΝΙΖΕΙΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ  
ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΜΑΤΑ ΟΥΚ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΗ-  
ΒΑΙΔΑ ΜΟΝ

χlviii. ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΡΡΩ ΝΟΜΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΩ  
ΧΩΡΑΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΑΣΤΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ  
ΕΦΘΑΣΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕ-  
ΝΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΡΕΩΤΗΝ

<sup>92</sup> L o conf. : Υ γ αειβιου θεου. <sup>93</sup> L o παρατα : Υ γ αι τα καινα.  
<sup>94</sup> rest. by L επανορθωσαι περι αν προγραψω αναγκαιως. Ηδη δε και πολλακις  
 τους εμοι ενδειχθεντας : Y o is ε.. νο .. ως αισι.. οηγοι.. ω .. ε. <sup>95</sup> Y γ  
 conf. <sup>96</sup> Y o conf. : according to L o αγροων. <sup>97</sup> L o and Y γ  
 conf. <sup>98</sup> rest. by L διαμενειν, εξ ης πολλας και μεγαλας. <sup>99</sup> Y γ  
 and L o conf. <sup>100</sup> L conf. : Y omits οι. <sup>101</sup> Y γ and L o conf.  
<sup>102</sup> Y γ πολλακις κατεκριθσαν : L o πολλα καινως κατεκριθη. <sup>103</sup> Y γ και  
 αλλα : L γ και μεγαλα. <sup>104</sup> according to L κατεκρεματα. <sup>105</sup> accord-  
 ing to Y γ and L γ μονη. <sup>106</sup> rest. by Y and L ουθε. <sup>107</sup> L o conf. :  
 Y omits κατω. <sup>108</sup> according to L προαστεια : to Y προαστα. <sup>109</sup> rest.  
 by L κελευω ουν.

XLIX. <sup>11</sup> ΙΣ ΚΑΤ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙΣ ΕΙΝΑ ΕΙ ΤΙΝΑ  
ΚΑΙΝΩΣ ΤΗ ΕΓΓΙΣΤΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΙΑ ΤΑ ΜΗΙ  
ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΑ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΩΣ Η ΠΛΗ-  
ΘΙΚΩΣ ΝΟΜΩΝ Η ΤΟΠΑ-<sup>12</sup>

L. ΟΗ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑΝ ΤΑΞΙΝ ΑΙΙΟ-  
ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΩΣΙΝ ΠΑΡΕΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΙΙΑΙ-  
ΤΗΣΙΝ <sup>13</sup> Α ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΝ ΑΧΘΕΝ-  
ΤΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ <sup>14</sup>

LI. <sup>15</sup> ΕΚΟΛ ΣΑ ΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΕ-  
ΤΡΟΝ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΛΟΓΙΣΤΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ  
ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΒΟΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΙ ΠΑΡΑ-  
ΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ <sup>17</sup> ΕΚΕ

LII. <sup>18</sup> ΕΞ ΟΥ <sup>16</sup> ΣΥΝΕΒΑΙΝΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΖΕΣ-  
ΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΟΝ ΓΕΙΝΕΣ-  
ΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΛΩ  
ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΞ ΟΜΟΙΩΜ

LIII. ΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ ΆΛΛ ΆΛΛΟ ΤΙ ΤΩΙ ΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ ΧΩ-  
ΡΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΡΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ ΚΕΛΕΥΩ ΔΕ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙΣ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΠΑΡ <sup>22</sup> ΕΚΛΟΓΙΣ-  
ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ ΧΩΡΙΣ <sup>23</sup>

<sup>11</sup> according to Y *ειπατα νομοστρατηγοις*: rest. by L *τοις κατα νομον στρατηγοις*.

<sup>12</sup> Y *πα--ε κριθηται τα*: rest. by L *τοκαρχιων επρεασθετων κατεκριθη ταυτα*.

<sup>13</sup> L has not a. <sup>14</sup> rest. by L *τοιαντων εγκληματων μη απολυσω*. <sup>15</sup> rest. by L *εκολασα δε ετι*: Y has *γ -- ωσα -- ετι*. <sup>16</sup> Y *ε παν κατ*: L o conf.

<sup>17</sup> L o has *-- ν*: Y o has *ει τ -- ν*. <sup>18</sup> Y *ε* and L o conf.

<sup>19</sup> L o conf.: Y *ε* *γενεσθαι*. <sup>20</sup> Y *ε* *ομοιωματος προγραφειν* *αλλ -- πια*:

L *ε* *ξομοιωμα*—*παραγραφειν* *αλλαχη*. <sup>21</sup> L o conf.: according to Y *κρισαι*.

<sup>22</sup> according to L *παρα*. <sup>23</sup> rest. by L *επιχωρησεως της*: Y *ε* *χωρις*

*-- η*

LIV. ΉΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΑΔΔΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΟΙ ΕΑΝ ΤΙ ΕΥΡΕΘΩΣΙ ΨΕΥΔΕΣ Η ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΔΕΟΝ <sup>24</sup> ΠΑΡΑΓΕΓΡΑΦΟΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΩΣΟΥΣΙΝ <sup>25</sup> ΌΣΟΝ ΑΠΗΤΗΘΗΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΣ <sup>26</sup>

LV. ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ Δ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΚΟΤΕΧΝΙΑΣ <sup>27</sup> ΕΣΤΙΝ ΚΑΙ Η ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΟΥΨΙΝ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ <sup>28</sup> ΌΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ ΑΝΑΒΑ<sup>29</sup>

LVI. ΠΡΟΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕ<sup>30</sup> ΤΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΑ-<sup>31</sup>

LVII. ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΩΣ <sup>32</sup> ΓΕΩΡΓΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΟΠΟΥΣ<sup>33</sup> ΟΤΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΑΛΗΘΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΥΣΗΣ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΕΒ<sup>34</sup>

LVIII. ΌΥ ΠΡΟΣ <sup>35</sup> ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΟΥΨΙΝ <sup>36</sup> ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΩΝ Η ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΕΞΕΛΕΓΧΩΗ ΨΕΥΣΑ-<sup>37</sup>

<sup>24</sup> L o conf. : Υ ο παραγεσιαφότες.

αρχαίον -- ν.

<sup>26</sup> rest. by L τοσούτον αποτισουσιν εις.

Υ τ εισιν αποθεεγμεναι κατα συνοφιν απατησεις.

<sup>27</sup> L o conf. : Υ γ and L o conf.

<sup>28</sup> rest. by L αναβασιν του Νείλου ποταμου, αλλα: according to Υ γ αναβασιν --

πολαι.

<sup>29</sup> Υ ο αναβασεων : L γ αναβασεων ετει.

βουλομενος και καθ' ολην την χωραν κατοικειν : Υ ο is θαι -- i -- ι -- ιθαι.

<sup>30</sup> L γ αναβασεων ετει.

and L o conf. : Υ γ ειδοτας : L γ κελεων.

<sup>31</sup> L γ θαρρειν δε

βουλομενος και καθ' ολην την χωραν κατοικειν : Υ ο is θαι -- i -- ι -- ιθαι.

<sup>32</sup> Υ γ

and L o conf. : Υ γ ειδοτας : L γ κελεων.

<sup>33</sup> Y γ βεβρεγμενης

χωρας : L γ βεβρεγμενης γης κατα την αναβασιν.

<sup>34</sup> Y γ conf. : L γ αλλ' ου.

<sup>35</sup> Y γ and L o conf. : Υ γ και αρχαιων φορων ων.

<sup>36</sup> Y γ

εξελεγχων εψευσατο -- ν τον του : L γ εξελεγχθη ψευσαμενος τουτο, εις το δη-

μοσιον.

<sup>25</sup> L o conf. : Υ γ ειογ απηγηθη εξ

αρχαιον -- ν.

<sup>27</sup> rest. by L τοσούτον αποτισουσιν εις.

Υ τ εισιν αποθεεγμεναι κατα συνοφιν απατησεις.

<sup>28</sup> L o conf. : Υ γ and L o conf.

<sup>29</sup> rest. by L αναβασιν του Νείλου ποταμου, αλλα: according to Υ γ αναβασιν --

πολαι.

<sup>30</sup> Υ ο αναβασεων ετει.

βουλομενος και καθ' ολην την χωραν κατοικειν : Υ ο is θαι -- i -- ι -- ιθαι.

<sup>31</sup> L γ θαρρειν δε

βουλομενος και καθ' ολην την χωραν κατοικειν : Υ ο is θαι -- i -- ι -- ιθαι.

<sup>32</sup> Υ γ

and L o conf. : Υ γ ειδοτας : L γ κελεων.

<sup>33</sup> Y γ βεβρεγμενης

χωρας : L γ βεβρεγμενης γης κατα την αναβασιν.

<sup>34</sup> Y γ conf. : L γ αλλ' ου.

<sup>35</sup> Y γ and L o conf. : Υ γ και αρχαιων φορων ων.

<sup>36</sup> Y γ

LIX. ΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΠΛΑΣΙΟΝ ΑΠΟΔΩΣΕΙ ΟΣΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ  
 ΕΦΟΒΗΘΕΣΑΝ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΜΕΤΡΗ-  
 ΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΆΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ<sup>39</sup>

LX. ΜΕΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΟΥ-  
 ΔΕΠΟΤΕ ΣΧΟΙΝΙΟΝ ΚΑ<sup>40</sup> ΝΕΧΘ ΜΗ ΜΑΤΗΝ  
 ΣΥΝ<sup>41</sup> ΕΙΣΘΩΣΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΙΣ ΤΟΛΜΗΣΕΙ

LXI. Ι ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑ ΕΤΡΗΣΙΝ ΟΥΤΕ Ε ΗΣΕΤΑΙ  
 ΜΕΝΕΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΟΦΕΙ ΕΞ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΔΙ-  
 ΚΑ Δ ΑΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΗΜΙ ΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟ Κ

LXII. ΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΓΕΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΩΣΤΕ ΔΕΝ ΕΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ  
 ΚΑΙΝΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΕ  
 ΣΕΩΝ ΕΝΚΕΙ Ν ΥΜΩΝ ΑΙΣ

LXIII. ΝΗ ΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΠΛΕΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΕ ΙΗΣΑΝ

<sup>39</sup> Y γ and L o conf.      <sup>40</sup> L γ conf.      <sup>41</sup> Y γ Άλεξανδρεων χωραὶ : L γ Άλεξ-  
 ανδρεων χωρα, κατέρ βεβαιωμενης.      <sup>42</sup> L γ conf. : Y γ οὐδεν εδει της αρ-  
 χας γης, εις την.      <sup>43</sup> Y o and L γ κατηνεχθη.      <sup>44</sup> L γ συνδεισθωσαν : Y γ  
 εινθεισθωσαν.

DR. YOUNG.

60 ουτε Ερολμησαν  
 61 - - ιτην ανΑΜερησιν, ουτε  
 τΟΛΜΗΣΟΥΣΙΝ εις' μενειν  
 γαρ οΦΕιΛεΙ εξ αιωνος αυτης  
 δικΑΙΟΝ· το δ' αυτο ιστημι  
 ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡι των το .. . . .

62 αν πρΟσγενηματων, ωστε ΟΥ-  
 δεν επ' αυτων καινιζεσθαι· περι  
 δε των αρχαιοτε ΡΩΝ ΑΝΑ-  
 ΜΕΤΡΗσεων εν κει .. νημο-  
 ναις, η ..

63 εν η οπαι πολλακις .. πλεΟν  
 πΕριεισθαν πλην αργυρισμου

MONS. LETRONNE.

60 τις τολμησει αγανεον  
 61 οθ[η]αι την ανα[μ]ετρησιν, ουτε  
 ε[πιχωρ]ησεται· μενειν γαρ  
 οφειλετ[ε τοις] εξ αιωνος αυ-  
 της δικα[ιωμασι· τ]ο δ' αυτο  
 ιστημ[ι και πε]ρι των το [καθ-  
 ολον καινων αδικ]  
 62 αν προσγενηματων [ω]στε  
 ου]δεν επ' αυτων καινιζεσθαι·  
 περι δε των αρχαιοτελ[ειων]  
 ετε[ι]ων, εγκει[μενω]ν νημων,  
 αις [την των τελων ακαιτησιν  
 εμετρη

63 σα]ν οι [εγ]λ[ογι]σται πολ-  
 λακις, ω[στε ου] πλεον περι-

## ΠΛΗΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΣΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΓΜ

## ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΩ ΡΓΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡ

lxiv. ΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ ΓΡΑΨ ΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΆΛΛΩ  
ΑΥΤΩΙ ΔΗΛΩΣΩ ΜΟΝΩΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΕ Ι ΤΑ ΤΟΙ-  
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lxv. ΑΙ ΤΗΣ Π ΤΩΝ ΟΤΗΡΙΑΣ Η ΔΕΚΗΣ  
ΓΕΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΥΣ Π ΤΟΥ  
ΟΥ ΛΕΙΒΙΟΥ

lxvi. ΒΑ ΚΑΙ ΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΣΤ ΟΚΡΑΤΟ-  
ΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΙ ΙΒ

DR. YOUNG.

MONS. LETRONNE.

των αγΩμενων και Της τω ..  
που επι... α ..

64 .. ε... τω αυτοκρατορι γρα-  
φων .. η τα των αλλων, ..  
εαν αυτω δηλω τωι μονωι  
δυναμενωι τα τοιαυτα ολ ..  
ωι εκκοιτειν ..

65 .. αιτησαι των ΑΥτων Σω-  
Τηριας η διηνεκης ΕΥεργε-  
σια και προνοια .. ΕΤΟΥΣ  
πΡωτοΥ των Λειβιου ΘΕΟΥ ..  
ΣΟΥΛΠΙΚΙΟΥ

66 ΓΑΛΒα Καισαρος ΣεΒαΣ-  
ΤΟν αυτοκρατορος Επιφι ιβ

ε[πο]ιησαν πλην αργυρισμον  
των πραγ[ματικ]ων και της  
τω[ν γεωργ]ων επι[τριψεως  
Καισα]

64 ρι [Σεβα]στω α[ντ]οκρατορι  
γ[ρ]αψ[ω, και τα μεγ]ιστα των  
αλλων αυτω δηλωσω μονω δυ-  
ναμ[ενω] τα τοιαυτα ολ[ικ]ως  
[ε]κκοπτ[ειν' ηδη γαρ ιμιν απ-  
εδειχθη πε

65 ρι της παντων [υμ]ω[ν] σω-  
τηριας ηδιηνεκης [ενερ]γεσια  
και προνοια [εμον, ετο]υι πρω-  
το[ν Λουκ]ιου Λειβιου [Σουλ-  
πικιου Γαλ-

66 βα Καισαρος [Σεβ]αστ[ον]  
αυτοκρατορος επιφ[ι] ΙΒ

( B )

## INSCRIPTION

AT

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- ι. ΡΟΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ
- ii. ΤΗΣ ΠΕΜΦΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΜΟΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΓΕ-  
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- iii. ΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΣΥΝ ΤΩΙ ΥΠΟΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΩΙ ΠΡΟΣ-  
ΤΑ --
- iv. ΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΑ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΥΠΟΤΕΤΑΧΑ IN  
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- v. ΥΤΑ Κ ΟΗΘΗΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΥΠΕΝΑΝ-  
ΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ

MONS. LETRONNE.

DR. YOUNG.

1. Ποσιδωνιος, στρατηγος [Οα-  
σεως Θηβαιος]
2. της πεμφθεισης μοι υπο του κυ-  
ριου ηγεμονος
3. ε[πι]στολης, συν τῷ υποτεταγ-  
μενῷ προστα[γματι, τ
4. αντιγραφα υμειν υπο-  
τεταχα, ιν' ειδο[τες μ-
5. ηδεν παρα]λογον τε και μηδεν  
υπεναγτιον τοις προσ-
1. Ποσιδωνιος στρατηγος·
2. της πεμφθεισης μοι υπο του κυ-  
ριου ηγεμονος
3. επιστολης, συν τῷ υποτεταγ-  
μενῷ προσταΓΜΑΤΙ
4. τα απΟγραφα Υμιν υποτε-  
ταχα ιν' ειδοΤΕΣ
5. ΑΥτα κΑΤΑΝοΗθητε, και  
μηδεν υπεναντιον τοις προσ-  
ΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΙΣ

VI.

Σ ΕΝΑΤΟΥ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

VII.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΜΕΧΕΙΡ Ζ

VIII.

ΑΠΙΤΩΝ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗ-

ΓΝΙ ΟΑΣΕ--

IX.

ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΘΗΚΑ ΔΙΑ-  
ΤΑΓΜΑ

X.

ΠΕ ΨΑΣ Β ΥΛΟΜΑΙ ΟΥΝ ΕΘΝ

XI.

Ε ΤΗΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
ΚΑΘ Ε-

XII. Ν ΑΥΤΟ ΠΡΟΘΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΑΦΕΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΗΜΟΙΣ

XIII. ΚΑΙ ΓΛΥΦΟΜΕΝΑ ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ ΤΑΧ ΕΜΟΥ

MONS. LETRONNE.

DR. YOUNG.

6. ηκουσι παθητε]. Ι. ενατον Τι-  
βεριον Κλαυδιον Καισαρος

7. [Σεβαστον αυ]τοκρατορος, με-  
χειρ Ζ. [Γναιος Ουερ-

8. γιλιος Κα]πιτων Ποσειδωνιω,  
στρατηγω Οασε[ως,

9. χαιρειν. Εκ] της πολεως το[δε  
εξ]εθηκα διαταγμα

10. [τοντο και επεμ]ψα σ[οι. Βό]υ-  
λομας ουν [τους] εθν

11. [αρχας εν]τε τη μηρεπολει  
τον νομον και καθ ε[καστην]

12. πολιν αιτ]ο προθειναι σαφεσι  
και ενσημωις [γραμμασιν,

13. ινα παν] τι πολι[η] δηλα γε-  
νηται τα η[π'] εμου [σταθεντα].

6. ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΖΗΤΕ· ΕΤΟΥΣ  
ενατον τιβεριον κλαυδιον και-  
σαρος

7. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ  
αυτοκρατορος μεχειΡΕ

8. ΓΝΑΙΟΣ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΣ  
ΚΑΠΙΤΩΝ ποσειδωνιωι στρα-  
τηγωι οασεΩΣ

9. .... της πολεως αιο .... θηκα  
διαταγμα

10. .... ρωψας ... ΒΟυλομας  
ουν εεμ

11. τε τηι μητροπολει τον νομον  
και καθ' ε-

12. να ΑνΤο προθειναι σαφεΣι  
και ενσημωις ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙ

13. καΤΑ στΗλην· α γενηται  
ταχα ΕΠ' εμου.

( C. )

## INSCRIPTION

ON THE

## TEMPLE OF EL KHARGEH.

ι. ΓΝΑΙΟΣ ΟΥ<sup>1</sup> ΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΠΙΤΩΝ ΛΕΓΕΙ<sup>2</sup>  
 ΙΙ. ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΜΕΝ<sup>3</sup> ΗΚΟΥΟΝ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΔΑΠΑΝΑΣ  
     ΑΔΙΚΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΓΙ<sup>4</sup>-  
 ΙΙΙ. ΑΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΚΤΙΚΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΙΔΩΣ<sup>5</sup>  
     ΤΑΙΣ ΞΕΟΥ<sup>6</sup> Σ ΑΠΟ-  
 ΙV. ΧΡΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΓΕΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΤΩΝ  
     ΛΙΒΥΩΝ<sup>7</sup> ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ  
 v. ΕΓΝΩΝ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙ ΟΤΙ ΑΝΑΛΙΣΚΕΤΑΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΑΡΙΑ-  
     ΖΟΝΤΩΝ<sup>8</sup> ΆΔΕ  
 VI. ΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΙΣ ΩΣ ΥΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΕΙΣ<sup>10</sup>  
     ΔΑΠΑΝΑΣ  
 VII. ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΑ ΜΗΤΕ ΟΝΤΑ ΜΗΤΕ<sup>11</sup>  
     ΟΦΕΙΛΟΝΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Y r Ιονδιος : L r Ονεργιδιος.  
 conf. : L r παραλογισθεντας.

<sup>2,3</sup> Y r and L o conf.

<sup>4</sup> Y r

<sup>5</sup> Y r αναιδως ταις τε.

<sup>6</sup> Y o

<sup>7</sup> ονταις : L o εξουσιαις.

<sup>8</sup> Y r and L o conf.

<sup>9</sup> Y r and L r conf.

<sup>9</sup> L o conf. : according to Y o απλεις.

<sup>10</sup> Y r and L o conf.

<sup>11</sup> L o

conf. : according to Y r ανιας.

<sup>12</sup> Y r and L o conf.

viii. ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ<sup>13</sup> ΡΕΙΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΔΙΟ

κελεύμ<sup>14</sup> τούς

ix. οδευόντας δια τῶν νομῶν στρατιώτας<sup>15</sup>

καὶ ιππεῖς καὶ<sup>16</sup>

x. τατόρας καὶ εκατονταρχας καὶ χιλιαρ-  
χούς καὶ τούς<sup>18</sup>

xi. ποὺς απαντας<sup>19</sup> δεν λαμβανειν μηδε αν-  
γαρευειν ει μη<sup>20</sup>

xii. τίνες εμα διπλωματα εχούσιν και τούτους<sup>21</sup>  
δε στεγη δε<sup>22</sup>

xiii. χεσθαι τούς διερχομενούς υποκειμενον  
τε μηδενα μηδεν πρατ-

xiv. τειν εεω τῶν υπο μαξιμου σταθεντων<sup>23</sup>  
αν δε τις δωι η οσ δε<sup>24</sup>

xv. δομενον λογισηται και εισπραενι δημοσια<sup>25</sup>  
τούτον το<sup>26</sup> καπλουν

xvi. ειν<sup>27</sup> εκπραεω ου αύτος ειπραεν τον νο-  
μον και τωι μηνυσαντι<sup>29</sup>

xvii. το τετραιπλασειον μερος δωσω εκ της του<sup>30</sup>  
κατακριθεντος ουσιας<sup>31</sup>

<sup>13</sup> rest. by Y <i>αγγαρειν</i> : L o <i>αγγαρειν</i> .	<sup>14</sup> Y r and L o conf.	<sup>15</sup> Y r and L o <i>θιδενορτας</i> .
	<sup>16</sup> L o conf. : according to Y r <i>Αγγαριος</i> .	<sup>17</sup> Y r and L o <i>στατορας</i> : L r and L o <i>μετατορας</i> .
	<sup>18</sup> Y r <i>tous λοιπους</i> : L r <i>tous αιθρωκους</i> .	
<sup>19</sup> Y o and L o <i>μιδεν</i> .	<sup>20</sup> Y r and L o have <i>αγγαρειν</i> .	<sup>21</sup> L o conf. : Y r <i>εχωσι</i> .
	<sup>22</sup> according to Y o and L o <i>μορον</i> <i>δεκασθα</i> .	
<sup>23</sup> Y r and L o conf.	<sup>24</sup> Y r <i>στας</i> : L o <i>εαν</i> .	<sup>25</sup> Y r and L o conf.
		<sup>27, 28, 29</sup> Y r and L o <i>δεκακλουν</i> .
L o conf.	<sup>30</sup> L o conf. : Y r <i>τετραπλασιον</i> .	<sup>31</sup> Y r and L o conf.

<sup>32</sup> XVIII. ΑΣΙΑΙΚΟΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΩΜΟΓΡΑ-  
ΜΑΤΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑ-

XIX. ΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΟΣΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΑ-  
ΤΑΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΙΝΑ

xx. ΠΕΠΡΑΚΤΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΓΩΣ Η ΆΛΛΟ ΤΙ <sup>35</sup> ΑΝΑΓ  
Θ ΑΝ ΚΑΙ

<sup>36</sup> XXI. ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΠΙΔΟΤΩΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΗΒΑΙ-  
ΔΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΕΤΡΑΜΗΝΟΥ <sup>37</sup> ΘΕΟΙΕΝ (*eis*)

<sup>38</sup> XXII. ΛΟΓΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΔΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ-  
ΣΑΡΟΣ ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΚ

XXIII. ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΚΛΟΓΙΣΤΑΣ  
ΠΕΜΠΕΤΩΣΑΝ ΙΝ ΕΑΝ <sup>44</sup> ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΔΙ-

<sup>45</sup> XXIV. ΚΑΙΟΝ ΛΕΛΟΓΕΥΜΕΝΟΝ Η ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΟΝ Η  
ΤΟΥΤΟ <sup>47</sup> ΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΟΜΑΙ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ

<sup>33</sup> Y r οι βασιλικοι : L r οι μεν βασιλικοι.

<sup>39</sup> Y r and L r τοπογραμ-

ματεις.

<sup>35</sup> Y r αυ

<sup>34</sup> Y r conf. : L r ει τινα εισπεπρακται.

<sup>36</sup> L o

ανορθωσαν και σ - - : L r αναγραφεσθωσαν, και, ει μη, X.

<sup>37</sup> L o

εξηκοντες ειδοτως αν.

<sup>38</sup> L r

conf. : according to Y o επρληθ θρο.

<sup>39</sup> L r

and L o conf. <sup>42</sup> Y o has η - - γ : L o has τα εκ.

<sup>43</sup> Y r and

L o conf. <sup>44</sup> Y r conf. : according to L r εαν τι παρα.

<sup>45</sup> Y o

conf. : according to L o λελογισμενων.

<sup>46</sup> L o conf. : rest. by Y παρα-

τεταγμενον.

<sup>47</sup> L o conf. : according to Y o δωρασομαι.

( D. )

INSCRIPTION  
ON THE  
TEMPLE OF EL ZIAN.

- I. ΑΜΕΝΗΒΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩΙ ΤΧΟΝΕΜΥΡΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΤΟΙΣ
- II. ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΙΩΝΑ ΔΙΑΜΟ-  
ΝΗΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ
- III. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ Ο ΣΗΚΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ
- IV. ΠΡΟΝΑΟΝ ΕΚ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΗ ΕΠΙ ΑΟΥ-  
ΙΔΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
- V. ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΩΝΟΣ <sup>1</sup> ΕΠΙΣΓΑΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝ-  
ΤΟΣ ΠΛΙΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΠΤΩΝΟΣ
- VI. ΕΤΟΥΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΙΤΟΥ  
ΑΙΛΙΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ
- VII. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΜΕΣΟΡΗ ΟΚΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΔΕ-  
ΚΑΤΗ

<sup>1</sup> According to Young *επιστρατηγού*.

( E. )

## INSCRIPTION

ON THE

## TEMPLE OF DOOSH.

- I. ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ  
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΝΕΡΟΥ Α
- II. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ  
ΔΑΚΙΚΟΥ ΤΥΚΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΡΟΥΠΙΝΟΥ  
ΔΟΥΠΟΥ
- III. ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕ-  
ΟΙΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΣΕΝΙΚΟΙ  
ΓΡΑΨΑΝ-
- IV. ΤΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΣΕ-  
ΒΑΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ ---- ΦΙΘ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ-  
ΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
- V. ΝΕΡΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΡ-  
ΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ ΔΑΚΙΚΟΥ

( F. )

INSCRIPTION  
ON THE  
TEMPLE OF EL KHARGEH.

<sup>1</sup> ΔΟΜΑΙ ΔΗΛΟΥΣΘΑΙ  
 ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ ΔΙ  
 ΜΗΝ ΣΚΕΠΑΕΤΙΚΟΥΣ<sup>2</sup>  
 ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΣΕ  
<sup>3</sup> ΓΑ ΑΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ  
<sup>4</sup> ΕΤΟΛΜΗΣΑΝ ΗΣΚΕ  
 ΠΗΣ ΤΙ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΟ  
<sup>5</sup> ΛΑΚΙΣ Π ΑΤΙ  
<sup>6</sup> ΘΑΝΤΟΣ Γ  
 ΡΟΓΡΑΦΗ  
<sup>7</sup> ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΙ—ΓΙ  
 ΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ  
 ΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ Τ  
<sup>8</sup> ΣΟΩ ΣΑ  
 ΠΕΙΝ ΠΑΣ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΑΜ

<sup>1</sup> Υ γ δε και βουλομαι.  
conf.

<sup>2</sup> Y without σι.

<sup>3</sup> Y ο παρα.

<sup>4</sup> Y γ

<sup>5</sup> Y γ πολλακις παρατ.

<sup>6</sup> Y γ εαυ τοις γεω.

<sup>7</sup> Y γ

στρατηγωι, without ΓΙ.

<sup>8</sup> Y ο εα.

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ Τ<sup>9</sup>  
 ΠΗΡΕΑΣΤΟΥ<sup>10</sup>  
 ΉΔΗ ΠΡΟΛΕΓΩ<sup>11</sup>  
 ΤΩΝ ΕΙ ΚΑΙ  
 ΝΟΙΤΟΤ ΥΤΟΥΣΑ<sup>12</sup>  
 ΦΕΣΘΑΙ<sup>13</sup>  
 — ΛΑΣΣΩ<sup>14</sup>  
 — ΙΤΩΝΙ<sup>15</sup>  
 — Ν ΜΟΙ ΜΕΤΑ  
 ΓΡΑΜΑ ΠΡΟΤΙΟΣ ΕΙ<sup>16</sup>  
 ΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΛΟΥ Ν

<sup>9</sup> Υ γ τοιαυτηι δ.      <sup>10</sup> Υ ο περελστου.      <sup>11</sup> Υ γ conf.      <sup>12</sup> Υ τους a.  
<sup>13</sup> Υ ο φεσοαηλ.      <sup>14</sup> Υ γ ελασσω.      <sup>15</sup> Υ γ ετων without i.      <sup>16</sup> Υ γ  
 αγρ -- απ -- οτι ο εις -- μητροπολει του ολου νο.



TRANSLATION  
OF  
THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS  
ON THE  
PROPYLON OF THE TEMPLE AT EL KHARGEH,  
OASIS MAGNA.

(A.)

I, JULIUS DEMETRIUS, commander of the Thebaic Oasis, have transmitted to you a copy of the ordinance sent to me by the Lord Governor, Tiberius Julius Alexander ; that being acquainted therewith, you may enjoy its benefits : in the second year of Lucius Augustus Sulpicius Galba, the Emperor : the first Phaophi, according to the Augustan Julian calendar.

Tiberius Julius Alexander says : Taking all possible care, that the city remain in proper order, enjoying the benefits which it has from the Augusti ; and that Egypt, continuing in tranquillity, be cheerfully obedient, in abundance and in the unprecedented happiness of the pre-

sent times, not being aggrieved by new and unjust exactions: and almost from the time of my coming to the city, having been entreated by these, meeting me both in small numbers and in multitudes of the most respectable persons here, both these, and those that are employed in cultivating the land, complaining of the injuries lately committed: I have not omitted indeed, according to my power, to correct the things which are pressing. But that you may hope with the greater confidence for all things from him, who has now shone out upon us for the safety of the whole race of mankind, our benefactor, the august Emperor Galba, both with regard to your safety and to your enjoyment; and may know, that I have taken care of what can contribute to your advantage, I have issued positive edicts respecting each particular of what was required, as far as I have the power of judging and of acting. And with respect to things of greater importance, and which require the power and majesty of the Emperor, I will explain them to him with all truth: the gods having reserved the security of the world to this most auspicious period. For I am especially aware, that your remonstrance is most reasonable, that

men should not be brought against their will into the exchequers, or unto other payments of their substance, by force, and contrarily to the common custom of the provinces ; and that it hath injured in no small degree their affairs, that many, who are unacquainted with such a mode of proceeding, should be brought up by constraint, having impositions laid upon them. I have therefore myself neither brought any man into the exchequer or unto payment, nor will I do so ; knowing this to be of service also to the imperial accounts, that they be managed by persons, who are willing and able and possessed of zeal. And I am persuaded, that any one for the future will not force persons to act as tax-gatherers or officers of the accounts against their will, but will remunerate those who are disposed to come forward voluntarily : since I rather observe the established custom of former governors than imitate the occasional injustice of any individual. For some, under the pretence of the public demands, and making over the debts of other persons, have thrown certain individuals both into the debtors' prison and into other places of confinement ; which for this very reason I have thought proper to suppress, in order that

actions may be upon the property, and not upon the persons of debtors. Following the will of the divine Augustus, I ordain, that no one, under pretence of the public accounts, shall make over debts from others, which have not been originally contracted to him: and that no freeman shall on any occasion be incarcerated in any gaol, except the malefactor; nor be confined in the debtors' prison, except such as are in debt to the royal revenue. And that the name of the public debts may not interfere in the smallest degree with the interests of private commerce; and that they may not injure the public faith, who abuse in an improper manner the rights of priority of payment, I have issued a positive edict on this subject also. For it has repeatedly been made known to me, that certain persons have attempted to withdraw pledges which were according to law, and to re-claim loans by force from those who had received them, and to annul the validity of sales, taking away the possessions of purchasers, as having made agreements with persons, who had received the property only for a term from the treasury, or with military commanders, or tax-gatherers, or some others of those indebted to the public revenue. I therefore ordain, that what-

ever commissioner of the Emperor or administrator may here have any one suspected of those employed in the public business, he shall identify his name, or openly declare it, in order that no one may engage with such a person ; . . . . or to hold certain parts of his property in the public records as a debt. But if any person, neither having his name so entered nor his property under control, may lend according to the law, having taken security, or may already have resumed what he has lent, or moreover may have bought any thing without having his name or his property entered, he shall not be disturbed. But with respect to the marriage portions which are alienated, and which have not become the property of the husbands, both the divine Emperor and the governors of the province have ordered them to be paid out of the Treasury to the wives, whose priority of payment must remain inviolable. And I have also been addressed respecting immunities and partial exemptions, among which are the entrance dues ; the petitioners requesting, that they may be preserved, as the divine Claudius ordered in his rescript to Posthumus, conceding them ; and saying, that the things which had been exacted in the mean time by individuals

had been afterwards condemned, after that Flaccus had condemned them, and that the divine Claudius had previously remitted them. Since therefore Balbillus and Vestinus remitted these payments, I observe the decisions of both these governors, they also acting in conformity with the gracious pleasure of the divine Claudius; so that the payments, which had manifestly never been exacted from them, were remitted, the immunities and partial exemptions being confirmed to them for the future. And with respect to what had been exacted in the mean time on Cæsar's account, upon which a rent had been established, as Vestinus ordered the people sums to be paid; I also decree, having remitted what has never been exacted, that the payments remain for the future as they are established. For it is unjust that those, who have purchased possessions and given the price of them, should be required to pay rents for their own estates, like public tenants: and it is consistent with the gracious intentions of the Augusti, that both the native Alexandrians and those, who are quietly dwelling in the country, should be brought into no . . . . Ye have often desired, and I adhere to the regulation, that no one of the

native Alexandrians should be burthened with the district-services : and I shall take care, that military commands shall be retained for three years by those who, after mature consideration, shall be appointed to them. And I command absolutely that, whenever a governor shall once have given judgment and acquitted a person brought before him, the individual shall not again be brought to trial : and that, if two governors shall have agreed in opinion, the accuser is also to be punished, bringing forward the same things twice to a trial, and producing no other result than leaving an occasion to complain of extortion against himself and other tax-gatherers. Many persons have on this account thought proper rather to remain deprived of their own possessions, having spent more than the value of them, from the custom of bringing to a judgment the same matters before every court of inquiry. And I make the same decree respecting matters brought forward in a private action : that, if any thing having been tried has been dismissed, or shall be dismissed, by the judge appointed to try private causes, it shall be no longer lawful for the accuser to renew his suit, nor to bring the cause forward again ; or

whoever does act so, shall be fined without excuse: for there will be no end of informations, if cases which have been dismissed may be brought forward, until some one issues judgment against them. The city having now indeed become almost uninhabited on account of the multitude of informers, and every family being disturbed; I peremptorily command, that, if any one of those, defending another, as accusing on his own account, may bring forward an objection, the informer must be presented by him, that this person may not be exempt from responsibility: and if any individual, bringing forward three accusations in his own name, shall not support them, that it shall no more be lawful for him to institute any action, but let half of his property be taken away: for it is most unjust that one, who has endangered the property and honor of many, should himself escape wholly unpunished. And in all cases I shall direct the registrar of the private causes to take account of all innovations, inconsistent with the gracious intentions of the Augusti . . . . those, who have been proved to be corrupt informers, I have punished, as it was proper. But I am not ignorant, that you also take great care,

that Egypt may remain in tranquillity . . . . from which . . . . the expenses of the games which you have, I have regulated as much as possible: for I have had many applications from agriculturists throughout the whole country, and they have stated that many new things have been established against them . . . . other exorbitant taxes in corn and money; and that facilities were not afforded to those desiring to improve their estates upon an extensive scale; but that these and similar adjudications had taken place, not only in the Thebaid and in the distant nomes of the low country, but had pre-occupied the suburbs of the city, both that called the district of the Alexandrians and the Mareotis . . . . to the commanders of the nomes, that, if any sums have been newly exacted within the last five years, which were not before universally or for the most part paid by the nomes or prefectures, they must restore these things to their former state, relinquishing the demand of them, and what have been brought into the account from the . . . . I have also restrained already the excessive power of the collectors, inasmuch as all complain against them, that they rescind the most of

. . . . whence it has come to pass, that they are enriched, but that Egypt is subverted. And now I command these same persons to assess nothing according to the similitude of another place, nor to do any other thing at all, without obtaining judgment from a governor: and I order the military commanders to receive nothing from the tax-gatherers without the permission of a governor. And if the other revenue officers may be found to have falsely or illegally rescinded any accounts, they shall both make restitution to the individuals, as much as they have been imposed on, and shall pay so much into the public treasury. And as a part of the same evil practices, a demand is spoken of, made according to a general survey, and not in conformity with the existing ascent of the river . . . . taking the ancient registers of some other ascents for a general judgment; whereas nothing seems to be more just than according to the real state of the inundation . . . . And it is reasonable for the cultivators to labour with alacrity, when knowing that they are to be rated according to the existing inundation, and the ground overflowed . . . . The demand shall be not according to the corrupt information of

those altering the accounts in conformity with the general survey; but if any one may be convicted to have falsified, he shall pay three times the amount to the public treasury. And as many as have been alarmed by hearing of an admeasurement having taken place in the country of the Alexandrians; this being fixed and ancient, the measuring-rod has never been carried over the land: let them not be unnecessarily terrified. Neither will any one dare to propose nor undertake an admeasurement; for it must remain at the just rate established from the commencement of it. And I ordain the same concerning the late additions, so that nothing of these shall be disturbed. But with respect to the more ancient admeasurements established among you . . . . have had no other effect, than the extortion of the tax-gatherers and the oppression of the husbandmen . . . . I shall write to the Emperor, and shall show the chief of other matters to him, who alone is able entirely to remove such things, if his constant beneficence and vigilance for the safety of all . . . . The first year of Lucius Livius Galba Cæsar Augustus, the Emperor.—  
Epippi 12.

## (B.) EL KHARGEH.

Posidonius commander: I have placed before you copies of the letter sent to me by the Lord Governor, with the ordinance subjoined to it; that being acquainted with them, you may consider and do nothing contrary to the things commanded. The ninth year of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar the Emperor, Mechir the 7th . . . Capito to Posidonius, the commander of the Oasis. I have subjoined the ordinance from the city . . . Having sent therefore, I desire the prefects to set it forth in the chief city of the nome, and in each city, in clear and legible characters: and let these my commands be sculptured quickly.

## (C.) EL KHARGEH.

Cnœus Virgilius Capito says: I have both heard long ago some unjust expenses and false charges to be made by certain persons avariciously and shamefully abusing their powers: and I have just now been informed, that in the

territory of the Libyans certain things are consumed by those seizing them under pretence, as it were, because of their necessities, as being set apart for their expenses and entertainments ; which charges are neither true nor admissible : and in like manner under the name of the service of couriers. Wherefore I command those travelling through the nomes, soldiers, and horsemen, and serjeants, and centurions, and tribunes, and all others, to take nothing nor to exact the privileges of couriers, except certain have my warrants ; and these passing along only indeed to be accommodated with lodging : and that it be laid down, that no man do any thing, beyond what were established by Maximus. But if any individual may give, or consider any thing as given, and exact as for the public service, I will exact ten times the amount of what he has exacted from the nome, and give a four-fold portion to the informer out of the property of the condemned. The royal scribes, and the village clerks, and the clerks of the districts in each nome, shall keep a register of all, that is expended by the nome upon any one : that, if this or any thing else has been irregularly committed, they may be recorded, and may repay

sixty-fold. But the inhabitants of the Thebaid may for four months come up to the tribunals of accounts: and let them address themselves to Basilides, the freedman of Cæsar, an officer of the tribunal of accounts, and to the comptrollers; that, if any thing may be adjudged or done contrary to what is just, I may in like manner put this in order.

(D.) ON THE TEMPLE OF EL ZIAN.

To Amenebis, the supreme god of Tchone-myris, and to the associated gods of the temple, for the eternal preservation of Antoninus Cæsar our Lord, and his whole house. The cell of the temple and the vestibule were repaired and renewed under Avidius Heliodorus, governor of Egypt; Septimius Macro being commander-in-chief, Plinius Capito being general of the forces, in the third year of the Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus, the Pious. Mesore the eighteenth.

## (E.) ON THE TEMPLE OF DOOSH.

For the fortune of the Lord Emperor Cæsar Nero . . . . Trajan Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, under Marcus Ruffinus Lupus, Governor of Egypt, to Serapis and the supreme gods, those of \* . . . having written, erected from a principle of piety this building. The nineteenth year of the Emperor Cæsar Nero Adrian Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus.

\* Probably Cyrene.

THE END.

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